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MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT OF WESTPHALIA,

UNDER

JEROME BONAPARTE;

WITH ANECDOTES

OF HIS

FAVOURITES, MINISTERS, &c.

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PREFACE.

FAR be it from the writer of the following Memoirs to insult the exiled or unfortunate; who have all, whatever their rank or station may be, a right to claim the sympathy of their fellow men; but the private and public lives of princes belong to history. Happy are those amongst them who are still spoken of, when they are no longer on the throne! If he has boldly sketched vices, errors, and weaknesses, it is a tribute he was called upon to pay to the strictest impartiality. Like all those who wish to make candour their guide, he would rather have to record the natural failings than the premiditated vices of the great: fortunately he has not had to paint any of those horrors that veiled the ferocious gallantry of a NERO, a HELIOGABOLUS, or a CALIGULA.

Since his fall, Prince Jerome has shewn what he might have been while a king, if he had been better advised and more ably seconded. This youngest member of Napoleon's family, though so effeminate on the throne, has been subsequently observed modestly to perform those duties of public and private life which characterize the man of probity and virtue. His benevolence and amiable domestic qualities have been eulogized, since he has ceased to reign; this is an act of justice that even his enemies seem to have felt a pleasure in rendering him. He is treated with sufficient severity in these Memoirs, to remove every suspicion as to the sincerity of the writer's praises.

The King of Westphalia could not sustain himself on the throne, like some other sovereigns of the same creation, without the assistance of French bayonets; when that support failed, it was necessary

to abdicate. Led on by events and obedient to his destiny, to use a favourite expression of the Emperor, the same breath that elevated him to an equality with many of his contemporaries, replaced him in a private station, which he has, by his subsequent conduct, made the post of honour.

The author will perhaps be reproached for having concealed his name; this was however an unavoidable condition to secure the independence of his pen. Those who were acquainted with Westphalia will probably recognize him; if so, it is scarcely necessary to inform them that he was in a situation to see and hear all that passed; this is the chief point to be considered on the present occasion. The circumstance of publishing anonymously is favorable to the frankness with which he expresses himself with regard to those personages who appear on the scene. By giving his name he would, on the contrary, have deprived himself of this valuable privilege; in that case his humble production would have gained in politeness what it had lost in veracity; but it would, at the same time, have been less amusing and instructive.

Upon the whole, he would not advise any writer to attack, in his own name, the follies and weaknesses of his contemporaries; at least, if he does not wish to share the fate of Æsop and of Socrates. When Tacitus had completed his Annals, he waited for the death of Domitian before he would read them to his friends.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT OF WESTPHALIA.

CHAPTER I.

Account of the Provinces composing the Kingdom of Westphalia.—Disposition and Manners of the Inhabitants.—Government of the Regency.

THE treaty of Tilsit, having raised a new throne in Germany, gave rise to the dismemberment of the several provinces which composed the Kingdom of Westphalia, created in favour of Jerome, youngest brother to the Emperor Napoleon.

Most of those provinces consisted of the countries separated from Prussia by right of conquest, and from the electorate of Hesse-Cassel. The Prussian portions, were: Eichsfeld, Hohnstein, Hartz, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Zeidlin-

burg, Minden, and Ravensberg. Those of the electorate, upper and lower Hesse, Herzfeld, Fritzlan, &c. These different tracts of territory were united by the duchy of Brunswick, the counties of Schaumburg, Osnabruck, &c.

The total extent of the above provinces was about six hundred and eighty-eight German square miles, at fifteen to a degree; making in all one thousand nine hundred and six French leagues. Their population was nearly two millions of souls, and their net revenue, on the 1st of October, 1807, nineteen millions of francs annually.

This new state, formed by so many provinces, strangers to each other in their laws, manners, customs, and religion, possessed, notwithstanding, the germes of power and fecundity within itself; but it required more able hands to bring them forth. Rich in mineral productions, agricultural produce, and industry, Westphalia would prosper under the influence of commerce and the arts; and

it might have been consolidated, if governed by a liberal, wise, and paternal code of laws.

A great part of its population, naturally warlike, was composed of those Hessians whose sovereigns sold them by auction to foreign powers, and particularly to England. The manners of these people, who live in a rude and mountainous country, partake of the rusticity of the primitive ages. The Hessian peasant, naturally a mere *machine*, is formed to a servile obedience, approaching to stupidity; he is told that nature designed him to be slaughtered in America, and he goes there to die without a murmur!

It is with difficulty that the French habituate themselves to the inert gravity of the Germans; amongst the latter every thing is troublesome, nay, *impossible;* a word which is heard in Germany at least a hundred times for once amongst us. A Hessian is, in fact, born for inactivity. Sometimes, while going through a village in the midst of winter, you perceive a number of small windows, whence

are obtruded the heads of those whom curiosity has tempted to move from their seats.

At the post-houses and barriers they cannot imagine that a traveller is in a hurry; a Frenchman vociferates, becomes impatient, and wonders he is not understood while speaking a language which he thinks the only one tolerated in a civilized country. There is another race of inhabitants eastward of Hesse: they are called the miners of Hartz. Here nearly twenty-four thousand people live entirely isolated from the rest of the world, either on sterile rocks, or within the deep recesses of its mines, whence the metals are drawn. Government keeps provision stores and quantities of fuel on this spot, both of which articles are regularly distributed at a low price; they are, besides, exempted from taxation.

Close to the mountains of Hartz is the celebrated university of Göttingen, where students throng from all parts of Europe. The duchies of Brunswick and Magdeburg contain a people considerably advanced in ci-

vilization; French refugees have long since brought their industry and useful arts into this region. It is difficult to conceive how enlightened these countries are; men of the very lowest class have a literary turn, and possess much useful information; there is no small town without its gymnasium, library, and learned men; not a village that has not its professors of music, while every city is remarkable for individuals who are held in estimation for their talents and virtues.

Public opinion, though generally favorable to the French, at the peace of Tilsit, had a visible tendency towards a new order of things, which should guarantee the common interest. The inhabitants were impatient and dissatisfied under a provisional government, rendered the more intolerable since it had been established by the victor. French intendants governed in each province, raised the contributions which were levied, and gave themselves no uneasiness about the consequences. The re-union of these provinces into one state and under the same form of government,

was, therefore, regarded as an anchor of safety, and all were glad to rally round the protection it was likely to afford.

The people of Germany have always submitted very easily to the empire of necessity. Deputations went from every point of the new kingdom to lay their hopes and professions of attachment at the feet of the sovereign.

This prince was unfortunately a young man, little more than twenty-one years of age, accustomed to dissipation, fond of pleasure, and not calculated for business. The youthful impetuosity of the king, and empty airs of the few courtiers who surrounded him, formed a ludicrous contrast with the coldness of those grave personages who composed the German deputations; but the supreme master was there to receive them: he never laughed, so that all passed off with good order on both sides.

Amongst the members of these public bodies, Napoleon more particularly noticed Müller, the famous historian of Switzerland, who to the pen of Tacitus, united the erudition

and profound knowledge of a German philosopher. As it was his misfortune not to be a courtier, this great man's political career continued but a short time. A constitution, contained in four pages, was framed, by which a government, almost the same as that of France, was established, and Jerome received the hand of Catherine, daughter to the King of Wurtemberg.

While the above was passing at Paris, each individual, from the porter of a toll-gate to the counsellor of state in Hesse-Cassel, was busily occupied in arranging his plan of future operations; from the humblest clerk up to the president of the regency, the ambition of all was in activity, and every imagination heated. Some trembled for their existence while others hoped for advancement. The king sent his aid-de-camp, Mor.... as early as the month of August, to sound the public opinion of the country he was so unexpectedly called to govern. This officer passed through each city like a shadow. In order

to satisfy the impatience of his master, he took flying notes as he went along, calling them statistical: these were generally written at the doors of inns, and related principally to the revenues of the state and pecuniary resources of the country.

Meanwhile, the expences of the tables for the French governors and agents did not diminish; these ill-fated provinces had become so many imperial pashalicks; bodies of military traversed the country in every direction, and the continually increasing sacrifices, added to the debts already contracted with corresponding rapidity. Until then it was not positively known what provinces were to form part of the new kingdom; but towards the close of 1807, the promulgation of the constitutional act, which contained the official nomenclature of the laws, decided every uncertainty. Hope was now more firmly established than ever amongst all parties; people flattered themselves that they would find, in the brother of the Emperor, a palladium against

the exercise of the terrible right of conquest; the illusion was complete, it became the hobby-horse of every body. At this epoch, Westphalia contained a great number of distinguished characters, amongst whom might be named many such men as Dohm, Martens, Malsburg, Henneberg, &c. all of whom partook of this error, so honorable to their personal character and unsuspecting natures.

The imperial decree, which soon instituted a provisional regency for the kingdom, left reason to fear that the new king was not destined to assume the reins of government at so early a period as was previously expected. The regency was composed of the counsellors of state, Beugnot, Simeon, Jolivet, and of General Lagrange, then governor of electoral Hesse; their functions commenced in the beginning of September. Although these individuals possessed reputation, and a certain portion of talent, not one of them was acquainted with the language, manners, or institutions of the country which they were charged

to regenerate. They very prudently associated a M. Mossdorff with them in the capacity of secretary general: this was a German from the left bank of the Rhine, completely subservient to Jolivet, and then counsellor of the Prefecture at Mayence. He was valuable at the moment, from his knowing the language and character of the Germans; he therefore became the right-hand of the regency, which could neither hear nor see, except through him.

M. Beugnot had been a land-steward at Bar-sur-Aube, a deputy in the legislative assembly of 1792, and lastly prefect at Rouen. It is impossible to explain why he was considered as a great financier in France. He has certainly a turn for business and good address; his head is full of brilliant theories on political economy; and he possesses an agreeable exterior; but he is deficient in that quickness and experience which supplies the place of genius in persons whose acquirements do not exceed mediocrity. M. Simeon, formerly

an advocate at Aix, in Provence, and member of the council of five hundred, proscribed by the directory after the celebrated 18th of Fructidor 1796, is a man of mild manners and great probity: he had been long regarded as a most able lawyer. M. Jolivet had also been a member of various legislative assemblies in France; in these he had only played a passive part; but he presided at the organization of the French departments on the left bank of the Rhine. To confined views and limited powers, he joined an extravagant degree of self-love, a repulsive meanness, and a large fund of ridiculous originality; every one has his mania, that of M. Jolivet was to think himself a good financier. General Lagrange was an old and brave soldier, who had gained his rank and honours at the point of his sword; but, although he had acted as chief of the staff to Kleber in Egypt, he knew how to charge an enemy better than to govern a kingdom.

The first operations of the regency of Westphalia resembled the steps of the blind, who

walk by chance over unknown and rugged ground. However, the public authorities of the country gave all the information that was required. Some individuals were, it is true, disposed to concealment, lest the facts they had to disclose should lead to an increase of expenditure and new taxes; but, on the whole, there was a great degree of candour manifested by them, and much zeal amongst the different functionaries.

Unhappily, by an incoherence of measures and ideas, too common in those days, the powers of governors and imperial intendants were not revoked on forming a regency, so that, from this double authority, which weighed down the people, while it produced incessant contradictions, resulted a conflict of universal attributes, greatly resembling the confusion of Babel: sometimes the orders of the regency were mistaken for those of the imperial agents; at others, the latter were impeded or checked in their pretensions by the measures of the new government. In the midst of this chaos, the

inferior authorities, not knowing who to obey, proceeded by chance, according to the caprice of the most powerful or weakest party in the state.

During this anarchy of the government and administration, the revenues continued to be raised on account of the Emperor Napoleon. Jerome borrowed two millions of francs at Paris to commence his royal establishment; the expences attending the tables of the governors and intendants were the same; murmurs and complaints poured in from every side against the regency, which either made no answer or gave such as were extremely evasive. At length, towards the beginning of December, came an order to administer the public affairs in the name of Jerome, who had, until then, been only a King *in partibus:* this order enjoined that no farther attention should be paid to the governors or intendants; and that all the demands usually made in conquered countries should be henceforth disregarded.

General R....., aid-de-camp to his Majesty, and son of an ex-conventionalist, who had figured in the revolution, appeared soon after: this young man was formed for the effeminacy of courts, and servility of anti-chambers; he had gained his honours in the drawing-rooms of Paris, and was much better acquainted with the manners of the green-room than those of the camp. The principal object of his mission was very important: that of enroling musicians for the royal chapel, and valets for the service of the court; he was occasionally to superintend the pleasures of his master, inspect the furniture of the deposed elector's palace, arrange the interior of the different residences, and look to their being kept in order. This employment belonged rather to an upper servant than the General of a crowned head; but, in the new kingdom, neither men nor measures were scarcely ever seen in their proper place; it seemed as if a pleasure had been taken in violating good sense, when nominating persons to fill the

public offices, which, with scarcely a single exception, bore the indelible seal of ridicule.

R.....scarcely found any thing in the houses of the elector, but old fashioned furniture, used in the days of King Arthus, if we except Wilhelmshöhe, which was rebaptised afterwards under the appellation of Napoleonshöhe. All the rest were completely stripped; that of Cassel was not habitable; it only contained old worm-eaten wainscoting, while its exterior resembled a barracks rather than a palace. About this period the number of quarters were doubled on the military roads, to lighten the burden hitherto borne by the inhabitants; columns of French troops passed through the capital on their way to Spain, and defiled under the windows of the palace, after having made several forced marches. " Do you see that hen-roost?" said a soldier once to his comrade; " it is the palace " of King Jerome."—" What's that to me," replied the other; " Jerome may go to the

" devil, for what I care ; when we make any " more kingdoms, they'll be so small that it " will only require a day's march to cross " them from one end to the other."

The ruinous state of the furniture in those palaces, and the project of replacing it, presented a most favourable opportunity of stimulating the industry of the inhabitants; and to render the government popular, it would only have been necessary to purchase the articles required in the electorate. Instead of this, every thing was ordered from Paris, at a very heavy expence, and several millions were thus drawn from a country already exhausted by previous exactions.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of the King at Cassel.—His Character and Suite.—Nomination of the Ministers.—Dismissal of the Minister of War.—First Measures of Administration.—Assembly of the States.—Police of the Kingdom.—Orders of the Emperor Napoleon.—Civil List.—Intrigues of the Court.

Towards the end of December 1807, the king, accompanied by his queen, left Paris for Westphalia. Some individuals of the household went on before, to Cassel; amongst whom was Laf.... intendant of the civil list, and Meyr.... grand marshal of the palace, and subsequently count Wellingerode. Laf.... belonged to a mercantile family of Marseilles, and might be fairly considered as one of the most negative and inefficient characters in the kingdom. Beugnot having once shewn him an elaborate essay on the political and statistical situation of the kingdom, he examined it with a vacant stare, and on some one present calling his attention to a notice of the establishments for public instruction, he

asked, doubtless out of mere distraction: "Well, what is all that about?"

Meyr...., had been a cabin-boy on board a Marseilles' coasting vessel; nor is it known how he became patronized by the Bonaparte family. He had certainly accompanied Jerome during his naval exploits, and obtained his confidence. Without any pretensions to genius, he possessed good natural sense, and was extremely brave; nor did any person ever appeal to his good offices in vain; he performed a number of generous actions, and consequently met with much ingratitude.

The king and queen reached Napoleonshöhe on the 20th of December: this place being about half a mile from the capital, they did not make their grand entry until next day. Immediately after the event, a royal decree nominated Simeon to the ministry of justice and interor; Beugnot to the financial department; Jolivet to the treasury; General L..... to the war department; a briefless barrister of Paris, who had come to take his

chance in Westphalia, was made director general of the police, in a country of which he did not understand the language; a person named M..... was appointed secretary of state *pro tempore*, in the absence of M. Müller, who had been already nominated. M..... was about the same age as Jerome, and belonged to a family in easy circumstances at Paris. His youth had been passed in very dissipated society, and there was scarcely any office calculated to minister to the pleasures of Jerome, that he had not the credit of performing since their intimacy commenced. Such was the grave personage who signed the first organic laws of an austere and religious people!

Amongst the other individuals who accompanied the king, were Lec.... afterwards Count de Furst.... and secretary of state; Bouch.... prefect of the palace; Mor.... and Gir.... two aid-de-camps. Lec...., originally from Martinique, possessed no other talent except that of being a good courtier; he was very intimate with his master, whose

confidence he contrived to gain, as well as the place of first chamberlain. Bouch.... had sold toothpicks and suspenders in the coffee houses of Hamburgh; his family had been formerly acquainted with that of the Emperor, in Corsica: he was by no means devoid of good nature, though in other respects, full of vanity and ostentation.

Mor.... the aid-de-camp, who has been already mentioned, was not destitute of talents; formerly a pupil in the polytechnic school, he had served in the engineers and obtained the rank of colonel; but he was extremely quarrelsome and most disagreeably frivolous for the Germans. As to his coadjutor Gir.... his greatest merit was that of having married the daughter of a banker at Paris.

Surrounded by such friends, the King of Westphalia made it appear sufficiently obvious that he could not govern with much wisdom; this was but too well proved in the sequel. However, the truth should not be disguised; although so very young, Jerome

possessed a great share of good sense and much solidity of judgment; whenever he was not deceived by intriguers, or beset by knaves, and that he followed the impulses of his own heart, he acted very well; and if blessed with a prime minister, who united a turn for business with a knowledge of mankind, there is no doubt that he would have made himself popular.

Jerome was not deficient in benevolence; the greatest misfortune of kings is, that they are either kept in total ignorance of the truth, or that they dare not listen to it. Jerome loves the truth, said his subjects, but he does not seek it. Lively and volatile, like a boy escaped from school, he had the mania of aping his brother in public; but whilst within the palace, gave himself up without restraint to all the idle gaity of childhood. Having one day laid aside all his gravity, Jerome put on an undress, for the purpose of being able to perform his part in a game of leap-frog; while in the midst of this amusement, his majesty observed several persons in an

opposite window, who seemed to be looking towards the scene in which he was so actively engaged. It will be readily conceived that the king was not a little annoyed at this intrusion; accordingly the house was purchased next day, and the inhabitants ordered to procure another residence. Some honest courtier, if ever there was one, ought to have, on this occasion, reminded Jerome of the oriental apologue related of a caliph, that knew how to respect the property of another, even in the person of a poor Fellah, who possessed a cabin in his gardens.

Scarcely had the administration been formed, when the minister of war suddenly left Cassel, and two agents, who had been charged with arrangement of the national domains, were put in prison. This little revolution of the seraglio was, for some days, an enigma to the public; but it soon appeared, that the Hessian magistrates, with whom large sums had been deposited, had disposed of it in favour of the general and intendant Mart.... in the form of

a present, and that the latter had accepted it. Jerome, who had not a farthing in the coffers of his civil list, and who had been forced to pass through the hands of the Jews on arriving in his kingdom, thought it very extraordinary that presents should be made to his dependants; but scarcely had the word *restitution* been pronounced, when the general found himself beyond the frontiers of Westphalia. As the Emperor was more interested about the acquisition of a good general than the masquerades of Cassel, no farther notice was taken of the business. As to the intendant Mart....he was not quite so powerful, but took fright on the occasion and refunded.

Such was the event that led to Mor....'s becoming minister of war. It was no trifling task to establish his office and organize an army! Fortunately Mor..... thought every thing possible; the whole of his subalterns were collected in three days. This was not difficult, for the first who presented themselves were received. Poor de Gœu....who

had never done any thing all his life but affix the seal of office to contracts for stores and provisions, saw himself one morning at the head of the staff of the Westphalian army. It was in vain that he hesitated, the installation took place in spite of him; he was placed in a large room, surrounded with books and papers, on the sight of which he shuddered at his presumption and incapacity. Here he remained shut up three days, like Jonas in the whale; towards the end of this time, more fatigued with his dignity than Sancho in the Island of Barataria, de Gœu.. requested a place better suited to his talents. As it was absolutely necessary to make something of him, and he wrote a very bad hand, they dubbed him a copyist, then a commissary of war; thus realizing the aphorism of Figaro, when he says: " A statesman was " wanted, and they appointed a danser !"

There was a crowd of needy adventurers in Westphalia at this period, attracted by the hope of making fortunes; they came from all

parts of France as to another land of promise. Cassel was encumbered with these sort of people, and it was not without considerable uneasiness that the Germans viewed this flock of expectants, like so many hawks, hovering over their prey. Such were the circumstances under which Mr. D....found his way to Cassel: we shall have to present this adventurer to the reader's notice under the successive titles of clerk in the war office, commissary, inspector of reviews, chief of division, counsellor of state, intendant of the treasury, &c. &c. Some persons, then at Cassel, had formerly known D.... at Paris, in the humble employment of a writer in the office for lighting the streets. Having subsequently become a contractor, he failed of success, and being dunned by his creditors, he came to hide himself in the army of Germany. Certain persons, whom nothing escapes, well remember how suddenly he became a great personage, and the worn-out olive coloured surtout which he wore on his arrival, the sole and

only coat he then possessed. Such was the debut of this ambitious character, whom we shall soon see performing one of the most important parts in these memoirs.

General Lefebvre-Desnouettes also followed Jerome into Westphalia, in the quality of grand equerry: but whether he found himself misplaced at the court, or whether, as some well informed on the subject pretend, Napoleon did not wish to leave any good officers at Cassel, Desnouettes withdrew a few days after his arrival, and went to serve in Spain. His place was supplied by the Baron Dal..., an old emigrant of Rohan's corps and a subaltern officer amongst the Chouans, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

The first operations of the ministers were naturally directed to the finances. The civil list was fixed at five millions of francs annually; the payment of the first six months was demanded as a matter of right, while the remainder was requested by the way of advance. All the funds were exhausted; each

branch of the public service was three months in arrear, and it was nearly a year since any of the civil, military, or ecclesiastical pensions were paid. In this extremity it became necessary to adopt a very simple plan; that of recurring to the Jews. Jacobson, a banker and Israelite, advanced two millions of francs at a *reasonable* interest, which sum was totally swallowed up by the civil list. The financial situation of the kingdom was really alarming; for, on one side the imperial agents had collected the revenue by anticipation, and on the other, from not having paid any of the expences, they left an enormous deficit in the Westphalian treasury, which had no certain entries to hope for before three months.

It was under these circumstances that the intendant-general Daru arrived at Cassel; he was charged by his master to exact the payment of twenty-five millions, the amount of a former contribution, and to restore the whole of the domains to the extraordinary one; he had orders to impose the most rigid

laws, and the public knows how he acquitted himself. The negotiation was not of long continuance: between the strong and the weak, matters are soon regulated. M. Daru observed to the ministers of Jerome: "I want "this done; you must do such a thing; or the "Emperor expects it to be managed in this "way, &c." Never was a diplomatic commission more easy of execution. The result was, that the twenty-five millions were to be paid within a year, in twelve instalments. As to the domains, M. Daru reserved seven millions of the rents; that is to say, nearly the whole amount of them, for even the lands appertaining to the royal palaces were not left at the disposal of the new king.

This system, followed up with so much perseverance by a sovereign who disposed of the treasures of Europe, in a state that he had just erected into a monarchy, and which placed his brother under the necessity of oppressing his subjects, was very impolitic. Nothing could excuse it, except the ignorance in

which Napoleon was kept by the evil counsellors who surrounded him, and whose zeal in outstripping his most trifling orders was unbounded.

Jerome soon found it absolutely necessary to call the states of the kingdom together, in order to expose the situation of affairs to them, with the best possible grace. The deputies were accordingly convoked, and met with considerable form, in the orangery of the park at Cassel. The King prepared his own speech, and delivered it from memory, with considerable nobleness and dignity. One of the ministers, known for his partiality to find fault, whispered in the ears of his friends, that it resembled the sermon of a village curate, rather than a speech from the throne. The fact was, that this personage experienced a little mortification to his self-love on the occasion; for, having prepared a speech and read it at the council, Jerome would have nothing to do with it. Upon this the disappointed author put the draft in his pocket,

and, like a true courtier, acknowledged that the king had made a much better oration than himself.

Nothing was decided by the states; nor indeed could they determine on any thing. No branch of the administration being as yet organized, it would have been very difficult to adopt a plan, still more so to execute it. The most pressing object was to govern steadily; every other ought to have commenced at this point. The only result of the meeting was, a vain pomp and sterile luxury, paraded before the eyes of the people: and of which the spectacle was not without its share of novelty in the capital of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, the most miserly of all the German sovereigns.

The utmost dispatch was therefore used to organize the administrative and financial part of the government. The counsellors of state, prefects, under-prefects, and receivers general were nominated. There was no dificulty in the selection: there were however

none but Germans in the council and prefectures. The most influential amongst the latter presented lists of candidates, at the request of the ministers; but these lists, in which the friends, creatures and dependants, of a small number of titled individuals or powerful families, made the most conspicuous figure, had the inconvenience of placing the government at the discretion of the good or bad dispositions of the members composing this species of oligarchy. From such a procedure, the ministers must have made their choice blindfolded; so that the majority of the first nominations were miserably defective. The most unfit persons found themselves called to the management of public affairs, because they possessed a title of nobility, while merit was kept out of sight. They also committed the stupid fault of suffering the prefects to act in their districts, so that the bad passions, considerations of personal interest, and all the train of abuses that

are found in the suite of the vicious, made a rapid progress all over Westphalia ; besides the government was only informed of what passed, at the good pleasure of a few individuals.

Towards the end of February 1808, the king heard, by mere accident, that the director general of the mines at Hartz, had a suspicious connexion with England ; it was determined to get possession of the correspondence. For this purpose a person named Neuv.... was secretly charged with this office ; he had fulfilled several callings at Hamburgh, during the emigration ; a man of irregular habits, bad reputation ; and from his low intrigues became commissary of the regency at Göttingen, where he had established a system of terror ; exactly suited any mission that did not require delicacy or probity; but he was very aukward and a great gossip. When informed of his appointment to the above job, it seemed to turn his brain, and he thought himself a *great man.*

On reaching the house of M. de Med.... at Clausthal, nothing was found. However, the agent acted with all the amenity of a real seal breaker. Having taken it into his head that there were treasures concealed in the cellars of the director, he caused a search to be made for several days, but in vain.

This personage brought back a report full of boastings as to his operations while absent; telling all those who listened to him, that the affair would obtain him a seat in the council of state. Unfortunately, the minister Beugnot, who was fond of mystifying his friends, and who had promised wonders to excite his agents zeal, thus apostrophized him in public: "Oh, ho! Monsieur Neuv...., they "tell me you acted the part of a swindler at "Hamburg?" This was more than enough to silence an intriguer, and M. Neuv.... did not get over it. With regard to M. de Med.... he was sent to Cassel, where they almost put him to the torture; but he remained firm,

and nothing was discovered. As he could not be replaced in the administration of the mines, the government was obliged to leave him at his post after this extraordinary accusation; thus adding to its first great error.

Cassel now presented a singular spectacle: foreigners were introduced in the midst of Germans; a French colony of both sexes, every age and condition, many of the individuals composing it, crowding in from Paris, amongst the phlegmatic Hessians, bringing with them their inconstancy, vices, and follies, was not a scene by any means unworthy the pencil of an acute observer.

The capital had already become better lighted than formerly, the internal police was also improved; restaurateurs, coffee-houses, plays, and concerts, not to mention other objects of luxury, were substituted for the dull monotony of the old system. The worthy Germans thought all this very fine, but they were astonished at seeing gambling-houses

and other receptacles, hitherto unheard of, at the residence of their sovereign. Habit is however a second nature; the young women who had only felt an interest in their domestic concerns and the cares of house-keeping, now thought of the theatre, and seemed anxious to feast their eyes with the lascivious dances of the French ballet.

The persons attached to the court had not, however, as yet publicly manifested the excess of their turpitude; the hypocrisy of a number of corrupt courtiers, in the midst of a laborious and sober people, was an involuntary homage which vice rendered to virtue. They plainly saw that this was not their proper ground; and if there were any orgies with the theatrical gentry or intrigues with the nymphs of court, they contrived at least to save appearances.

Jerome himself seemed almost a saint; those in his confidence could no longer recognize the same person, with the exception of a few trifling errors; he was even a good husband, and

sincerely loved the queen. This princess was truly virtuous, and made a grateful return; although he was not the husband of her choice, he knew how to inspire sentiments of tenderness, and they lived in the utmost harmony to the great scandal of the profligates of his court, who would have gladly contributed to his pleasures in other quarters.

CHAPTER III.

Difficulties with regard to the Civil List and the Minister Jolivet.—His Dismissal—Retirement of M. de Müler.—Removal of the Director of Police.—Departure of Beugnot; he is succeeded by Bulow.—Madame de T....—Journey of the King.—Second Assemblage of the States.—The Minister of War is dismissed.—The Westphalian Army.—Anecdotes.—The King and Queen go to Paris.

SEVERAL of the public departments, in the kingdom of Westphalia, were organized at the end of 1808; but the contributions came in slowly. Whenever a few crowns reached the treasury, they were swept away by the civil list, while the intendant Laff...signed orders of anticipation in every direction; so that before the expiration of the first quarter, three-fourths of the year's revenue was absorbed. The minister Jolivet thought it his duty to oppose this system of irregularity by refusing the funds; the court resisted; Jolivet spoke of his responsibility, and was only laughed at for his pains. But he became

more intractable, and was at last driven from the ministry. The most amusing part of this affair was, that he, next day, found himself imperial commissary of Westphalia for enforcing the collection of the war contributions, and, above all, that he was obliged to put up with this humiliation.

M. de Müller, so completely out of his element in this court, demanded and obtained permission to resign his place of secretary of state; this was even indirectly hinted to him, with promises of a pecuniary indemnity, because the court-party wished to give his situation to the favorite Lec...., afterwards Count de Furst.... Müller, like most men of genius, was a mere simpleton in all matters of personal interest; relying on the royal promise, he secured nothing for himself. It was in vain that he subsequently claimed the amount of those debts which were contracted to sustain the dignity of his rank while in office; the government referred him to the ministers, by whom he was sent to the

council of state, and thence back to the king, who ended by leaving him to his fate. After having been thus humbled and mortified for above four months, the hand of death overtook poor M. de Müller ; nor was the event scarcely noticed. The German *Tacitus* died, as he had lived, isolated, and in solitude ; a very small number of friends following his hearse to the grave. This distinguished writer had quitted Berlin, where he participated in the brilliant career of its most celebrated characters, to establish himself at Cassel, where he only experienced neglect and disdain. A memorable lesson for those men of letters who are so infatuated as to rely on the chance of ministerial or princely favour, and enter into the uncertain career of political preferment !...,Müllers' last will and testament furnished a fresh proof of his disinterestedness. It stated that he had no fortune to bequeath ; contained a request that his manuscripts might be sold to pay his debts ; adding, that if they produced enough to satisfy

his creditors, he ventured to dispose of his own watch in favour of an old servant!

M. Beugnot continued to organize the financial concerns; while M. Simeon was occupied with the ministry of justice and the interior. A crowd of applicants and greedy expectants, from all quarters, besieged the different public offices; Frenchmen and Germans were seen soliciting on every side. Beugnot was greatly amused by the piteous and contrite air of all those ill-fated candidates who were desirous of approaching him, with the same anxiety that a convalescent seeks the mild influence of the suns' rays in spring.

One of the most characteristic traits amongst the Germans is, that the superior is proud, haughty, disdainful, and sometimes uncivil towards his inferior, whilst the latter is humble even to meanness. How ridiculous was it not to see the unfortunate barons of Germany, crouch to the earth before the little advocate of Bar-sur-Aube! What affronts were they not obliged to put up with, merely to

reach the anti-chamber! and how many bows did they not make on arriving there! One of these poor devils, having got over all the difficulties of entry, was, at length, fortunate enough to see the minister, who was standing with his back to the fire..... His excellency sees and speaks to him; there is no longer any doubt of his fortune being made. "Do you "understand latin, baron?" asked Beugnot. "Yes, your excellency," replied the German. "Oh! you know latin, do you! tell "me then how to say, I put on my small clothes, in latin?"—The baron had studied at Göttingen, Jena and Tübingen; he had read Homer, Virgil and Cicero; yet he hesitates! what a dilemma! "Ah! Baron," cried the minister, "I plainly see that you do "not understand latin!" Upon this, the surrounding sycophants burst out into a loud laugh; the brutal sally was a charming witticism; because whatever the "Dog in office" says, must be a good thing, although it were absolute nonsense. It was in reality only an abuse of power, a manifestation of autho-

rity which rendered the yoke of a foreign sway still more galling than it was from other causes. There is, in fact, very little difference between a minister who turns an applicant into ridicule, and him who wantonly insults a dying man.

As each wished to provide for his relatives, creatures, and friends, the ministers and other great personages monopolized all the places for their own immediate followers. Here it was a brother-in-law to provide for, there a nephew, and not unfrequently a ninety-fifth cousin, fallen from the clouds! When any person becomes a great man he is generally surprised to find himself surrounded by a horde of relations, of whose very existence he had hitherto been totally ignorant. There was not a single groom in the king's household who had not some one to provide for or bring from France. Lodgings became so dear at Cassel soon after Jerome's arrival, that they were only to be had at a most exorbitant rate.

The grand marshal, who was afterwards

called count Wellingerode, caused one of his relatives to come from Marseilles to become receiver general of a province. The honest Provençal had no idea of what part of the globe Westphalia was situated; in the simplicity of his heart, he supposed it must have been some barbarous country in the neighbourhood of Turkey. Travelling alone, like a trunk, by the diligence, it was only at Vienna that he ascertained how far he was from Cassel; his surprize on hearing that it was still three hundred leagues in his rear is more easily conceived than described! Behold him, therefore, obliged to traverse Moravia, Bohemia, Saxony, and Prussia, to reach this modern Thrace: where, like Ulysses of old, he did not arrive until after innumerable toils.

Count de Furst...., having succeeded M. de Müller as secretary of state, placed his brother-in-law Path .... in the police; a situation destitute of importance, it is true; but this was only a stepping stone to his becoming director general of the posts. The

sister of count Furst.....married general Mor.... minister of war, and her brother also got a place at court; thus it was that this family acquired an influence which was extremely difficult to resist; it will however be seen, hereafter, that the German party struggled against it with considerable success.

Beugnot clearly saw that nothing good would be done in Westphalia: there were neither talents or knowledge amongst his competitors; it was necessary to give way to intrigue, and M. Beugnot was not a man likely to be satisfied with the second place. All these reasons apparently determined him secretly to apply for his recall to Paris. He soon obtained his request, and quitted Cassel at the commencement of 1808.

The king seemed, at first, quite inconsolable at this loss, and not without reason. In spite of his faults, M. Beugnot possessed the clearest head in the kingdom. At the moment of his departure, his majesty overpowered the minister with caresses, and made him a pre-

sent of twenty thousand francs; he promised to return; but in three days more, M. Beugnot was forgotten: there is, however, reason to believe that his *excellency* was not a dupe to these demonstrations of kindness, for he had the prudence not to reappear on the scene, having shortly after proceeded to the grand duchy of Berg, with the title of imperial commissary.

It was the above named minister who recommended M. de Bulow, formerly president of the Prussian chamber at Madgeburg, and then counsellor of state, as the only person capable of replacing him; he was therefore provisionally charged with the port-folio of finance. M. Bulow was very well able to conduct a political intrigue, but this was all; he had not, at the time of his nomination, any reputation either as a financier or minister; and was, besides, incapable of application to public affairs: whenever a chief of division transacted business with him for only an hour he used to fall into a sound sleep; it was then

necessary to wait till his excellency opened his eyes, when the matter was put off till next day, which turned out to be as little to the purpose, as the preceding one. M. de Bulow had also such an impediment in his speech that it was with the utmost difficulty he could express himself. It was the general opinion that he would not remain a week in office; and the presentation of such a man, by M. Beugnot, was regarded as a mere piece of raillery. Perhaps he wished to mystify the king, who knew nothing of M. de Bulow; if that was his intention, he grossly deceived himself and the public, for the new minister soon played a part at which his predecessor was the first to be surprised.

It was about this period that King Jerome felt a little regard for a lady of the court, and, as it happened, she liked nothing better than to be brought forward. Madame de T.... and her husband, both of a German family, had left their estates, the one to become grand mistress of the ceremonies, and the other first cham-

berlain. She was one of those women of whom Bruyere speaks, and who eclipse their husbands to such a degree that people do not say: Let us go and see M. ..... but let us call on Madame .....

The ideas of this lady were not exactly inclined towards gallantry. Although she was in the country of the beautiful Cunigunde, she possessed none of those qualities which attracted the ingenious hero of Thunderten-Trunck; she preferred the *real* to the *ideal* in all things. The only object she could discover in the king's attachment, was the hopes it held out of her being able to establish her credit at court. Besides, she was not very young; rather pretty than beautiful; more cunning than witty; her physiognomy expressed nothing but the foolish pride of hereditary self-sufficiency; her gait was awkward, and temper uncertain; her looks heavy and dull; nor would any one have supposed she was likely to attract many admirers.

A king of twenty-two years of age, who has

only his regal duties to perform, and superannuated women at his court, finds the time hang rather heavy between the acts of the comedy in which he plays so conspicuous a part; it is not therefore surprising that Jerome should have been attracted by madame de T..

Although this amour was tolerably well veiled at the commencement, scandal was disseminated by degrees. A person, who wrote verses *about nothing* for the great, took it into his head to cause an indecent allegory to be performed at the theatre of Cassel, under the title of the Troubadour; and in which, strong allusions were made to the amourous indiscretions of his majesty. Punishment would have fallen on the author of this pasquinade in some countries, but here it was very kindly received, and even a present made to the writer!

The king paid a visit to Magdeburg at this time, the object of it was never rightly ascertained; but people supposed he went there, merely for the purpose of examining

the only fortress in his kingdom; although this must have been a matter of indifference to him, as it was in the military occupation of France, and scarcely recognized his authority. He was received by General Michaud, the French governor. When the troops defiled before his majesty, on the following day, he remarked an old officer, who commanded the departamental company, and asked who he was? The general replied, that he was a good soldier, and gave some other information required. "Very well," rejoined the king with vivacity; "but he seems to be extremely thick "headed." General Michaud, who was himself above seventy, appeared to be greatly hurt at this observation. But the king did not make any mistake, the officer was what he called him, in the fullest sense of the word; yet, by one of those contradictions which were peculiar to Westphalia, he was promoted to a colonelcy some days after.

Notwithstanding all the probabilities against

the event, the minister of finance, Bulow, remained in his place, and was even confirmed in it; no one could explain the cause of this phenomenon.

The most envious and cunning were lost in conjecture; but he had established his credit with the court, on an unshaken basis, in determining the Israelite Jacobson to lend a few more millions; of which fact they were ignorant. M. de Bulow was a good courtier, he knew that, as long as he could find means of keeping money in the treasury, he would be the ablest man on earth; and to this object was all his attention directed. He gained his point by having daily recourse to forced loans and the assistance of the Jews. He was concerned with persons who required him to give no account of exactions, provided they turned to the profit of his employers. Although, on its first establishment, the kingdom had a public debt of one hundred and twelve millions, M. de Bulow proposed a forced loan

of twenty millions, and the States were assembled a second time to give their sanction, which was accordingly obtained.

Not only did Bulow restore health and vigour to the finances, but he also became minister of war by the retreat of general Mor.... and he very soon after received the grand decoration of the legion of honour; all this was not a little calculated to render a man vain. If his predecessor had really recommended him out of a mere burlesque, such a prosperous career must have appeared rather singular!

With regard to Mor....his greatest crime seems to have been that of having displeased the Emperor, who was by no means partial to him; he was compensated for all this disapprobation by the situation conferred on him at Cassel, and which only tended to augment the annoyances he experienced from Paris; it was there that his dismissal originated.

Unfortunately for Mor....his administration was not of a nature to make him regret-

ted ; he had thrown away large sums for the purpose of organizing a little army of 15,000 men, in six months; the materials of this force were wretched, its discipline bad, and instruction quite inefficient. The greatest delapidations had been made in the accoutrements, owing to the facility with which adventurers of all kinds were received. Simon Mayer, the Jew, whom the minister appointed commissary in chief, sent for all his own tribe as into another Palestine; none but individuals of this sect, with long beards, were seen in the military stores. These people grew fat from habit, and rich out of mere precaution. Westphalia was in fact a real land of promise for the Jews: on whatever side any one cast his eyes, he was sure to see some of them in the public employments. Who was at the head of the finances? a Jew. Who superintended the supplies? a Jew. Who was over the hospitals? a Jew. Or the barrack master? a Jew. The most extravagant prices were paid to individuals of this tribe, while the moderate propo-

sals of the honest Westphalian merchant were scornfully rejected; but every body did not lose by this; certain persons were sure to find their account in it.

According to the constitutional act, the army of Westphalia ought to have amounted to twenty-five thousand men, to be raised by a conscription. This mode of recruiting was not new in Germany, where, from time immemorial, the peasantry had been drawn by ballot to fill the armies; the Hessians were above all, reconciled to this mode, whenever their prince took it into his head to dispose of them to some foreign power. There was nothing to fear on this point; but the application of the French conscript laws experienced great opposition. The nobility had always been exempted from the ballot, this was no longer the case, and the local authorities acted with so little activity, in other respects, in the execution of certain coercive measures, that the army remained unrecruited.

While in office, General Mor....conceived

the idea of requiring that a *conscription doctor* should be sent from Paris, in order to forward this branch of the public service. M. Lacuée had a bad copyist in his office, who did not give him very great satisfaction, he therefore dispatched him to Westphalia. This personage was much shocked, on his arrival at Cassel, to find that he had not been named counsellor of state and director general of the conscription; his friends gave him to understand that he must limit his ambition, and that the place of chief of division was better at Cassel, than that of a copying clerk at Paris.

Although lame by nature, this man possessed all those talents which were required to move with celerity in Westphalia; that is to say, a rare stock of impudence, cupidity, quackery, and dissolute manners. He had the mania of showing himself at court, and took particular care to stop wherever the king was likely to pass, so as to be seen by his majesty. The latter becoming rather impatient of this solicitude, one day asked who

was that *cripple*, whom he daily met in his walks? On being informed that it was the inspector of the conscription: "Well," replied the king, "why does he not attend to his office?" This did not prevent the parasite from getting a decoration some days afterwards.

This singular personage found the means of building a house with the profits of his new office, and even maintained a species of seraglio in it. The most barefaced abuses were tolerated with impunity under his auspices; these where still more aggravated in consequence of the revolting exactions made by agents of his own choice. It was thus that these traders in human flesh fattened on the blood of the Westphalians; if the cries of the oppressed were sent forth, the person who participated in those shameful scenes took care that they should not be heard. With such men, and under so bad a system, there could not be a good army; composed, as it was, of poor sickly individuals who filled all the hospitals, or of vagabonds that deserted

with their effects, when they had received them; a circumstance of constant occurrence.

The Westphalian army, cloathed and organized in the French style, was upon the whole only one of parade. The moral character of which, afforded no hope of its being any support to the throne: this was cruelly verified in the end.

The German adheres with great pertinacity to his habits and manners, nor will he be induced easily to abandon them. The people have in particular preserved this sacred antipathy towards foreign manners, customs and languages: which fortifies the basis of independence in all nations. The Hessians, however, made no difficulty in giving up their cues of eighteen inches long, and their cloaths cut like those worn by the Prussians during the seven years war. They had besides wherewithal to console themselves in a considerable advancement of civilization, and a much more liberal pay than formerly. The

soldiers found the new government infinitely more mild and equitable than that of the elector's. Corporeal punishment had even been suppressed ; but the force of inveterate habit carried the day, and it became necessary to resume this practice, because the stick has always been, and must ever continue to possess, a marvellous effect on a pair of German shoulders!

The worst part of the system was the disorder that reigned in the military administration. There was a wish of introducing the old forms of the French army; but to do this, it would have been necessary to procure Frenchmen for the purpose of superintending an order of things so completely novel: this was perhaps the reason why none but Germans were taken.

In all matters of real necessity and importance the utmost parsimony was observed; but when any wild scheme or useless project was started, money was never wanted. Upon one occasion, all the rations and forage allowed

to general officers and the staff were suppressed. The king happening soon after to see General Allix running after the artillery brigade on foot, thought the event so singular, that he came up and said, " General! are you " not mounted?" Allix, who was fond of a joke, did not lose the occasion, but replied, quite out of breath, " No, Sire, I have been obliged " to walk ever since the forage was withdrawn." Upon this the king immediately ordered a horse of his own to be given to the general, and on the following day the allowances were restored to all the officers. This anecdote will serve to give the reader an idea of the manner in which affairs were conducted in those days.

General Allix had come from France, and served with distinction as chief of the artillery staff in the army of the Moselle. This excellent officer, of whom we shall have occasion frequently to speak in the course of these Memoirs, unites to great simplicity of manners, a rare intrepidity and extensive

knowledge of the military art ; he had, above all, a degree of German bluntness which was by no means relished by the courtiers. He had been brought to Cassel in order to direct the artillery and establish a cannon foundery. One day, when the king was paying a visit to the arsenal, and saw some iron guns laying in a corner, he observed, " General, those „ cannons of yours are very rusty! " Sire," replied " Allix, these are not carriages of the " court."

This was a period in the reign of Napoleon of which history furnishes few examples. The crowned heads quitted their states, at every point of the continent, to visit Paris, and to do homage to him who swayed the destinies of Europe. The King and Queen of Westphalia were not the last in forming a part of this congress of sovereigns, and they accordingly reached the French capital in the early part of August 1808.

CHAPTER IV

Remarks on some Personages.—Theatre of Cassel.—General Eblé sent by the Emperor as Minister of War.—Character and Portrait of this Minister.—Useless Efforts to suppress the prevailing System of Extravagance.—Increasing Favour of M. de Bulow.—Treaty with France on the Subject of the Laws.—Banishment of Madame de T.....—The Countess de Berat.....—Scandal.—Transportations.

THE revolutions of a seraglio are scarcely comparable to those freaks of fortune which successively elevated or abased a crowd of obscure individuals at the court of Cassel.

General B...., whom we have seen employed in enrolling musicians, was at the close of the year 1808, a general of division, governor, minister of state, and the reigning favourite. His excellency, however, did the honours of his new employment to perfection, and was by no means a novice in the ceremonial of courts and drawing-rooms This talent is possessed by those who have no other. Ama-

teurs found M. le Gouveneur every evening at the Biribi.*

The master of the horse was the only man fitted for his situation in Westphalia. Brutal as a carter, morose as a bull-dog, and rude as a porter, the horses, grooms, and stables could not be in better hands. As he was not very gallant, the ladies of the court said he smelt of the stable. It was diverting to see him glittering with orders, giving directions to the postilions, and laying on his whip to the right and left. In all this he evinced a dignity and a phlegm which must have made even the most serious laugh.

De B.. commanded the police after Poth.. became director general of the posts. He was a man of sense, had an imposing manner, but was one of the most subtle and cunning intriguers at court. Allied to the family of Saint Jean d'Angely, no one knew at whose request he came to Cassel.

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* The public gaming table.

His career had been extraordinary: having in his youth been in the army, he quitted it to enter the church; he was grand constitutional vicar at the time of the revolution; he afterwards threw off his religious order, and became purveyor to the army, secretary general of the prefecture, a man of letters, courtier, poet, physician, and finally director of the police of Westphalia! He was the cat's paw of the family of Count de T.... secretary of state; who, notwithstanding his own influence, was rejoiced to have that of a man belonging to the police. M. de B..... was really well adapted for the situation; it might even be said that he felt perfectly at home.

The poet Brug...., who had been secretary general of war under Mor...., now began to be spoken of; he made acrostics for the fêtes at court, which caused him to be noticed by the king, and he was also patronized in quality of cabinet secretary. He was likewise one of the Count de Furst....'s minions. By degrees he became master of requests,

while Dohm, Martens, Haberlin, and Neimeyer were forgotten ! ! !....

The minister Simeon was the only person of the old administration who remained in office He was of an indolent and somewhat too pliant a character; he continued to direct the affairs of justice and the interior. His personal interests more than his wishes detained him in Westphalia to the last, though he felt himself neither comfortable nor in his proper place.

The treasurer of the civil list, a grotesque personage, formerly an emigrant and knight of Saint Louis, thought much more of wine and women than of the treasury. He was often seen, in the most dirty streets of the royal residence, running after the objects of his cupidity. This man had a patent for buffoonery and served as a kind of fool to the king when his majesty was disposed to be merry. His eminent services obtained for him the cross of commander of the order of Westphalia, which

he has since pocketed to resume his former distinctions.

The master of the ceremonies, originally from Paderborn, was swelled as much with his dignities as the frog in the fable; but when he received the ribbon of the legion of honour, his self-love was boundless, and like his prototype he almost burst his skin.

His father, a squire of Paderborn, had the mania of choosing to be followed by a dozen hunting dogs, and always called the count *his excellency, my son!* This was thought so comical, that he never lost the nick name. It should however be told to his advantage, that he was one of those who remained faithful to the king to the last. This praise is justly due to him.

The prefect of the palace, Bouch...., the chamberlain Maria...,and the musician Blag.., formed a triumvirate in the management of theatrical affairs, and they did not acquit themselves badly. The best performers in co-

medy, opera, and ballet, came from Paris. Twenty thousand francs were paid to Bourdais, as much to Derubelle for some of his roaring, and the same to Petit-Pas for his twirling; be it known that the salary of a general of division, or a minister of state, was only 15,000 francs. The German actors had for some time performed alternately with the French, but as the amusement of the public was not considered by a set of upstarts, the German company was dismissed, and those who did not understand French were deprived of their entertainment.

Independantly of the theatre at Cassel, another house had been built at Napoleonshöhe; during the summer, performances took place there at least once a week, and no one was admitted without cards of invitation. The eastern luxury in the representations, the profusion of refreshments, and the splendour of the dresses, rendered this spectacle quite magical in the country into which it was introduced. It was curious to see, in the early part of the day, a long string of the royal

vehicles, stopping at the door of the theatre of Cassel to take up actor's dresses and decorations. The burlesque caravans of Ragotin were nothing to this. All these follies cost more than 400,000 francs. It is true that, in this country, pleasure was never considered too dearly purchased.

At one of these performances Jerome happening one evening to ogle a new actress, thought her a regal morsel, and dispatched his mercury M...., to tell her he would see her in his private apartments. M., who had been blessed with a nearer view of the lady, was, at first, astonished at the capricious taste of his master ; but, as the affair did not concern him, he acquitted himself of his commission.

The beautiful creature, deprived of her white and red, proved to be an ugly old woman when she appeared in the cabinet of his majesty. To look at her and fly was the king's only alternative, and he instantly availed himself of it. Poor M....,who waited

the issue of the adventure in an adjoining room, had much trouble to get rid of the female monster; and narrowly escaped a severe chastisement for his mistake.

It is said that no man is a hero to his valet de chambre: this may be true; but there is a class of people who judge of every thing by the surface. The court of Cassel, in spite of its magnificence and representations, imposed on such as these alone. Other things than ribbons and embroidered clothes are necessary to gain the esteem of the sensible part of mankind.

The Westphalian nation was overwhelmed with taxes and extraordinary burdens, nor did there appear to be any prospect of seeing an end of its misfortunes.

Two men had just decided the fate of the world at Erfurth. Jerome took advantage of this favourable circumstance to ask Napoleon for a fresh delay in the payment of the war contributions: they were to have been settled at the end of the year 1808, and at this time

not a quarter of the sums were paid. M. de Bulow was charged with the negociation; he went to Erfurth in November.

Napoleon was rather deaf on this occasion. "If my brother," said he, "finds money to "give fêtes, to have comedians, dancers, and "mountebanks, he should likewise find it to "fulfil his engagements." It is not very well known what M. de Bulow said in reply, nor what arguments he employed; but he gained a delay of one year, and returned in triumph to Cassel.

The popularity of this minister was, in consequence, greater than ever with the king; his power increased to such a height that no decisions took place in the council without his advice; he was, in a manner, prime minister.

Napoleon, who had felt the ridicule which must attach itself to the presence of Bulow in the war department, sent general Eblé to take the direction of it.

Eblé was a man of decisive character and

strict probity. He had commanded the French artillery with great credit during the revolutionary war. After the conquest of Prussia he became governor of Magdeburg, where he gained the esteem and gratitude of the people. Such an acquisition was most fortunate for Westphalia; unhappily many of the same sort were necessary.

As a minister, and on a large scale, General Eblé might have been accused of entering too much into a spirit of detail, but, in the situation in which he was placed, this was not injurious. To a perfect knowledge of men and manners, a certain tact, long experience, and great persevérance in business, he united a singular talent of penetration, and could discover a rogue at the distance of a league.

The new minister commenced his operations by a complete reform in the offices of government.

He evinced no less courage than perseverance: a man of his description alone could cleanse the Augean stables; and even he was

not entirely successful. The most flagrant abuses had prevailed during the last administration; he annulled scandalous bargains, and substituted others; but as these robberies were upheld by persons of consideration, they exclaimed loudly when their power was lessened; the great lords cried out against scandal, and thieves against injustice.

General Eblé endured such difficulties as would have daunted any other man but himself. In the council he called every thing by its right name; and, when it was necessary, went to the king himself, to whom he told the truth, and obtained redress.

Nevertheless his efforts to do good, or even to prevent evil, were often fruitless. In spite of his exertions, he was still surrounded by a great number of intriguers, who united in their endeavours to prevent his ascertaining the truth. He was, therefore, obliged to hold an official correspondence, which could not be intercepted or perverted; he had a secret intelligence with several of the functionaries of the ex-

terior, in order to know the real state of affairs. These gentlemen were often unmasked when they least expected it, which could not be otherwise than disagreeable to knaves who piqued themselves on their superior address.

Though bargains, burthensome to the state, were set aside, and others substituted, it was so arranged that they should remain in the power of the same individuals, who thus gained in one hand what they lost from the other. D....., that great fool of fortune, of whom mention has been made in the beginning of these Memoirs, had pocketed so many affronts, that he succeeded in maintaining his post as chief of division in the commissariat: he intrigued incessantly to displace the ministers. It is true that he had often great rudenesses to endure; but all who knew him were aware that he was not easily abashed. By cringing, he calculated that chance might effect the departure of the general; he bore all patiently, and his calculations were just. Besides where could he

have been better off? not in France, for there, his creditors would have thrown him into prison.

At the close of 1808, the civil and judicial organization of Westphalia was accomplished: it was modelled exactly on that of France. This was like cutting out the clothes of a pigmy by those of a giant. Such a contempt of considerations, which result from the habits and character of the citizens, their civil and political relations, is unprecedented in history. So sudden a change in the manners, and even the language of a people, has never been witnessed. The machine moved badly; but it moved, and that was a great point gained under existing circumstances.

M. de Bulow excited fire and flame in the financial department, which he conducted according to his pleasure. Loans were discharged, contributions came in, and money began to be seen in the treasury. M. de Bulow was then an excellent man, *the phœnix of Westphalia*, for finance was every where

the vital principle of the government. Those, whom the mediocrity of his talents had made the most incredulous, began to believe he had found the philosopher's stone.

A convention had just been concluded with France in regard to the military. As Westphalia could not immediately raise a complete army, this pretext was made use of to impose on her the obligation of maintaining and paying, at her own expense, twelve thousand Frenchmen, who were to be in garrison at Magdeburg and its environs. The subsistence of whatever number of troops it might be judged proper to send there, above that number, was likewise to be provided, after deducting their expenses from the amount of the war contribution.

Consequently two divisions of the Prince d'Eckmuhl's regiment, commanded by Generals Morand and Pajol, took their stations towards the end of December at Magdeburg, and in the neighbouring provinces.

The barracks at Westphalia, which were to

afford accommodation to these troops, were so ill supplied, and badly built, that it was often found necessary to billet them on the inhabitants, who were already sufficiently exasperated by increasing burthens. It was thought, that but for the excellent discipline of the French troops, the peaceful Germans would have been tempted to proceed to violent extremities; this could only have been conscientiously imputed to the folly of government, which paid immense sums in advance to purveyors for articles they never furnished, and which became chargeable to the community.

This did not prevent intrigues from running their course at Cassel. Madame de T...., after having tried the power of her charms on the heart of her royal lover, wished to insinuate herself into politics, and to meddle with the affairs of state. There were already generals and prefects of her creation. Happily the first had only to make their bow in the drawing-room. The court manifested neither

pleasure nor discontent at this influence; the French alone, beheld its increase with uneasiness, because this woman disliked them. M. Furst.... took great umbrage on the occasion, and with good reason; for Madame de T...., being a German, appeared to favour M. de Bulow, whose credit threatened to eclipse their own.

The French party, had for a long time, sought means to destroy an influence so fatal to their interest; none more likely to succeed were thought of, than to mortify the self love of the king, by making him believe the lady faithless. As the principal movers of the intrigue were in the police, false reports were made, a correspondence imagined, and when the mind of the prince was sufficiently disturbed, it was contrived that a third person should be found by the king with his *chere amie*. The person who acted this part, appeared like a disconcerted lover surprised in the commission of a crime, and vanishing with all possible speed, convinced Jerome

that he had a fortunate rival. To say the truth, the king was not much affected; his assiduities to the Countess de B.... had for some time proved an agreeable variety to the monotony of his amours; it appears, then, that his majesty seized with pleasure the opportunity of breaking through his bonds. This was accomplished with kingly rage; the lady was ordered to quit Cassel and Westphalia in forty-eight hours; her husband lost his place as chamberlain, and, sharing the disgrace of his chaste wife, returned to his estates; his brow crowned with laurels of a new description.

The Countess, of whom Jerome had become enamoured, was the wife of a former aid-de-camp to general L...,who had, like many others, become a person of importance; he was greeted one morning when he awoke with the title of general in Westphalia, where he served in the guards. At Cassel the Countess exhibited a conduct worthy of a Messalina. She was seen at her levee, surrounded by a crowd of li-

bertines and abandoned women, imitating the lascivious attitudes of a Baladiere or a Bacchante, regardless of modesty and decorum. It was strange enough that the Count should be in love with his wife; her infidelities were numerous, and concealed from no one but himself. Her house became the rendezvous of all that was corrupt about the court; the king came on foot at broad daylight to appear at the levee of the Countess, and indulged in familiarities which are always applauded by the panders of power. This connexion became scandalous, and intelligence of it was carried to the queen, who manifested much discontent on the occasion. According to custom, plausible reasons were alleged to her, and affairs continued to go on as usual. Madame de B.... was not a person to be satisfied with royal favours alone; she sought for lovers even amongst the obscure ranks of society: prince, clerk, dancer, soldier, porter, all were acceptable. She renewed, in her nocturnal walks, the saturnalia of the wife of

Claudius, and the celebrated offerings of Babylon, where prostitution even at the feet of the altars was committed. Some modern Juvenal might paint this excess of debauchery, this insatiable wantonness, and audacious indecency of an unblushing female, who emulated those vile creatures whom hunger impels and devotes to vice. What pen could describe these clandestine orgies, this corruption of manners, which are veiled by the shades of night, and in the haunts of prostitution..... Let us rather draw a veil over such disgusting horrors.

It was in a very improper house that the Countess de B.... made a conquest of Gir...., a copying clerk in the war office; he then became the rival of a crowned head. Chance brought these two people, who seemed formed for vice, and born for adultery, together. Though this woman knew how to manage several intrigues at once, the present could not long remain a secret. The indiscretions of Gir.... were enough to render their con-

nexion public, even if his mistress had not chosen to be jealous of his fine eyes. This fact will be hard of belief; but, on reflection, it will be seen that the scandalous chronicle furnishes many examples of courtisans becoming attached.

It was evident that these proofs of moral turpitude would produce some catastrophe; nothing of this description could remain a secret at Cassel. The principal employment of the police of Westphalia was to listen at the doors of boudoirs and houses of ill fame. Bere... put his engines to work, and every morning presented the king with a bulletin of remarkable facts and exploits. This collection must have been interesting, if we consider the importance attached to it by the chief of the police; and the money that was spent in composing it. The Countess de B..... naturally acted a principal character; it must have been very amusing to the prince to be aware of the pranks of this lady, and yet appear ignorant of them. Jerome still

visited her, and cunning was opposed to cunning, for several months; but one evening, when she was coming from the theatre, attended by Gir...., they were seized by a dozen alguazils, forcibly placed in a carriage, and conducted, without any explanation, to the frontiers of the kingdom, where they were left to their fate.

This little adventure, at the door of a theatre, could not have happened without causing rumour and scandal; the cries of the lady, the protestations of the gallant, amused the public and brought a mob together: every one made comments; it may well be imagined that they were not in favour either of decency or of the power which, having encouraged licentiousness, punished it with the justice of a cadi. The Count de B...., who performed the most unthankful part in the comedy, was employed at the palace, and and did not hear of the banishment of his wife till the next morning. He was so weak as to be afflicted, and fool enough to

suffer his weakness to be perceived; thus he became an object of ridicule to the court and the city. Finding it impossible to silence public clamour, he determined on travelling. What a pity that there was not in Westphalia a convenient Siberia, for the confinement of disgraced favourites!....

Kings, like other men, have no greater enemies than their own passions and vices; subject to the weaknesses of the vulgar, they should always conduct themselves, in public and private life, as though present and future generations witnessed their actions.

Louis Bonaparte, who reigned in Holland, was him, of all the Emperor Napoleon's brothers, who best understood this truth. By flattering the national character, ruling with mildness, and respecting the language of the country, he had succeeded in obliterating the recollection of a foreign yoke! he had made himself so beloved, that the conqueror who placed him on the throne dared not bid him descend without the assistance of an army.

The marshal, Duke of Reggio, was charged with this expedition, and the terrible reunion took place.

Of all the outrages a nation has to endure, that of seeing its name expunged from the map is perhaps the most cruel and insupportable. There is nothing to be done, while virtue still remains, but to fly to arms, and to cause the oppressor to respect its independence.

In decreeing the reunion of Holland, the Emperor Napoleon preceded the act by that famous state paper in which he established, as a principle of right, that his brothers, who were placed on the different thrones of Europe, belonged more to him and to France, than to their people. This was pushing his notions of propriety and policy very far indeed. Such an profession of faith opened the eyes of every one, it was perceived that the people were only considered as flocks, which were to be shorn for the benefit of a single nation.

Napoleon was not a novice in the art of

government; nevertheless, he betrayed himself by publishing his secret. Charles V would have thought and not spoken.

It is remarkable that, in the political system of this extraordinary monarch, he either went too far or did too little in support of his power. If the liberty, which he called ideology, happened to be in question, he was seen to soften, as though he feared to rely on it. Was despotism the case in point, he hesitated; and though not unacquainted with the doctrines of Machiavello's prince, he was always too late in his decisions. In wishing to make conquests for himself and France, it was useless to form them into kingdoms, which, according to his apparent plan, must forever renounce their independence; the most natural step, and that which seemed conformable to his political interests, would have been to extend the limits of his empire from the banks of the Vistula to those of the Tagus, and from the coasts of the Baltic to the Adriatic; the people would then have known on

what they had to depend; and if he preferred despotism, he would have possessed the necessary means, that is to say, strength and unity.

Napoleon committed another fault, after the 20th of March, 1815, in choosing to be made constitutional sovereign. From the moment of his resuming the crown, he should have seized the military dictatorship, re-established the conscription, ordered a *levée en masse* in France, and precipitated his troops on Europe; for it is not when numerous armies are in sight that we should amuse ourselves in framing constitutions; nor is it with a limited authority that coalitions should or can be successfully opposed. The emperor ought to have been with his army four days after his return to Paris; instead of which, too much time was lost in coming to a decision. From the moment that he pronounced the word *negotiation*, Europe recovered itself. The cabinets then thought he was no longer that terrible adversary who had subjugated them.

Jerome felt himself firmly placed on his throne; and as he did not wish to descend from it, he pursued a contrary course to his brother Louis, affecting almost to despise the manners and language of his subjects.

The luxury of the court, its profusion, and dissipation only influenced habits; but the proscription of the national language, in public acts, mortified the self-love of the nation, and inflicted a deep wound in the feelings of the Germans.

As it was absolutely necessary to ape the French, an official journal, styled the Moniteur, was established, mechanically relating all that the imperial police permitted to be published; and which informed the public of the court ceremonies with the greatest exactness. Notwithstanding the daily exaggerations of this paper, no one placed confidence in the existing system; because neither reason nor good sense seemed to predominate. National interest and public opinion equally neglected, continually falsified the assertions of

government respecting the happiness of the people. Statements were too frequently at variance with events. Incapacity was manifested on every side, at least amongst those who were placed at the head of affairs. There was no absurdity as to intention, but gross errors in fact; a country cannot be regenerated, nor wise and durable institutions formed, without the concurrence of the national voice. Instead of this, a revolution in German ideas was attempted to be effected by young Parisians of twenty, and old courtiers corrupted by vices. This attempt must have ended, sooner or later, in a catastrophe, and naturally led to the dissolution of so imperfectly organized a state.

CHAPTER V.

Departure of a Division of the Westphalian Army for Spain.—Schill's Invasion.—General Dalh.... sent in Pursuit of him.—Conduct of General Uslar, Aid-de-Camp of the King.—His Dismissal.—Insurrection in Hesse.—Campaign of the King in Saxony.—General R...., Chief of the Staff.—Westphalian Generals.—Military Arrangements.—March of the Duke of Oels to Westphalia.—Dismissal of Colonel Dastorg, Governor of Hallberstade.—The Grand Marshal of the Palace, commanding the 5th. Regiment of Infantry, made Prisoner with his Regiment.—R.... sent against the Duke of Oels.—Conduct of this General; his Disgrace.—Peace with Austria.—Marriage of the Emperor Napoleon.—Departure of the King for Paris.—The Minister Eblé gives in his Resignation.

The Emperor Napoleon went to Spain almost immediately after the conference at Erfurth. The French army was spread over the Peninsula; and the Spaniards, united to the English, kept their ground with difficulty on the banks of the Ebro against a superior force, which the presence of fortune's favourite seemed to

have rendered invincible. This war, afterwards so fatal to the French, became national amongst the Spaniards. From this time Napoleon predicted that it would be tedious; and that, to secure its conquest, it was necessary to fill the country with soldiers. This consideration apparently impelled him to claim the assistance of the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine.

Westphalia lost no time in obeying the summons. A division of six thousand men, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, commenced their march in the month of February 1809. The greater part of these troops was composed of new recruits; the few old soldiers among them were not deserving of much confidence, and would have corrupted the rest, because they had been accustomed, for some time, like the *condottieri* of Italy, to serve in the pay of several masters by turns. The appearance of the officers was not unfavourable, most of them fought well, and returned covered with honourable wounds; but the soldiers, who

had before their eyes the German legion in the service of England, deserted in great numbers to join them, because they were better paid, and happened to be their old comrades. The two Hamm.....s, who have since proved traitors to Jerome, served in this division; the one as a colonel of light horse, the other as a captain. They distinguished themselves in a brilliant manner in this war, and obtained promotion in consequence.

The troops, completely equipped and well armed, were in excellent condition when they passed the Rhine to traverseFrance. The king, who wished to re-instate his favourite Mor...in the good graces of the Emperor, gave him the command. We shall soon see how his plan, for the advantage of his friend, succeeded.

Scarcely had the German troops crossed the Alps, when Napoleon, occupied in pursuing the English army to Salamanca, learnt that Austria was disposed to renew the war against him on the Rhine. A fortnight afterwards he was before Ratisbon at the head of the Bava-

rians, and ready to commence hostilities. This was in the month of April 1809. The regiments of the great German army were, in a few days, concentrated on the Danube. That of the Prince of Eckmuhl, which occupied Hamburg and a part of Westphalia, followed the same direction, leaving but a weak garrison in the important fortress of Magdeburg.

Napoleon soon beat the Austrians in several battles, and entered Vienna a second time, where his enemies were arriving from the right bank of the Danube, under the command of Prince Charles. Here it may be said that a new campaign commenced which occasioned the French armies the singular alternatives of failure and success, occupying them a long time, and which still left the fate of the war undecided.

Meanwhile the English took Flushing, threatened Antwerp, and would have effected a considerable alteration in this part of the empire if their expedition had been better arranged.

A vague uneasiness and whispered rumour now prevailed in Germany, particularly in Westphalia; secret associations spread into numerous ramifications; public opinion was influenced; false intelligence circulated; and the minds of the people were greatly irritated. As yet, however, no hostile steps were taken. The conviction of the invincibility of Napoleon was as strong as ever; it would have been the heighth of imprudence and temerity to brave his power. The discontented murmured; but when they were required to come forward, no one appeared. They very much resembled the council of rats, no one would undertake to affix the bell.

It was evident the tranquillity of Germany, and that of Westphalia in particular, depended on the first battle. In the mean time King Jerome, whom the departure for Spain of six thousand men of his army left almost without troops, levied conscripts, and formed new regiments for future operations.

Such was the state of affairs when intel-

ligence arrived stating the result of the battle of Essling; where a part of the French army, driven into the Danube, had nearly found a watry grave. The fabricators of news had ample scope for their talents, and those persons, whose interest it was to create troubles, did not fail to exaggerate the misfortune. Messengers from all parts were on the road. Soon afterwards there were disturbances among the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Salzwedel; but no leaders were found, and a few soldiers sufficed to suppress these partial disorders. The dress of the gensdarmes was truly appalling, for it appeared to have produced the effect of a Medusa's head on the peasants. No violent means were adopted, but some of the rioters were seized, and confined in the citadel of Magdeburg. All the measures for ensuring safety were taken by French generals and French authorities; they were conducted wisely and vigorously, or the evil would have been much greater.

The inactivity of Jerome's government,

and of the police, was, at this time, inexplicable to all those who did not know what sort of men were at the head of affairs, and who were not aware of their inefficiency. There were several treasonable correspondences carried on in different parts of the kingdom; despatches went and came unmolested in the very sight of the commissaries of police, and very often bearing their seal, without their knowing a word of the contents. It is true they were very attentive in making the ladies of easy virtue pay for their patents. One of these gentlemen, who was stationed at Magdeburg, received a pension from England, which, however, did not prevent him from crying long live the Emperor! nor from drinking toasts to the stability of his empire. He is at this time a colonel in the gendarmes, and would be mufti to the grand turk if he could gain any thing by the change.

From all this, it is not surprising that the court of Cassel knew nothing of the plots which were preparing against it at Berlin. Neither

was M. de Saint Marsan, ambassador at the Prussian capital, from the Emperor Napoleon, better informed as to what was passing; it is true that the above persouage was neither a diplomatist nor a Frenchman. He was one morning much astonished at hearing that Major Schill, of the Brandenburg hussars, had just departed, with four hundred horse and a small number of determined officers, with the intention of crossing the Elbe and effecting a revolution in Westphalia.

The cabinet of Prussia proudly denied any knowledge of the project of Major Schill, he was even declared a deserter and an outlaw. Nevertheless it may be now considered that this step was the result of fear or policy, and that the Prussian cabinet would not have disavowed a knowledge of Schill's attempt had it been crowned with success.

Schill was a robust man of thirty-six and low stature; initiated into the German societies, an enthusiast, and one of the *illuminati;* extremely brave, capable of undertak-

ing any thing, but devoid of judgment and military skill. The science of war was unknown to him; he had not even sufficient talent to make a good leader of the patriot bands. He was certainly not the person best calculated to conduct so important an enterprise; yet, it has been believed, with some reason, that he was the sole author of the plan.

Having been wounded at Jena, Schill was at Magdeburg when that fortress opened its gates to the French. He protested against the capitulation, and threatened to blow out the brains of the old governor. He ran about the streets, with his arm in a sling, vociferating against the public authorities; a blanket covered with blood served him for a cloak, and his whole conduct evinced insanity.

General Michaud, the French governor of Magdeburg, received intelligene of Schill's march, long before the court of Cassel was informed of that event. It is supposed he was commissioned to transmit to the Westphalian

government the despatches of M. de Saint Marsan on this subject.

There were not, at the above period, two thousand well disciplined troops in all Westphalia, and these were distributed over a space of a hundred leagues. Schill had two modes by which he might invade the country; the first was to accelerate his march, and immediately possess himself of the fortress of Magdeburg; the second, to advance across the Hartz, and penetrate into Hesse, where symptoms of insurrection had more especially manifested themselves.

The first plan was a bold one, but not impossible. The only French soldiers in Magdeburg were two companies of light infantry and one company of pontoners, the rest were not worth mentioning. The town therefore was weakly guarded; and it is very accessible towards the Elbe. Fifty men could cross the river in a boat under cover of the night, might land at the very door of the governor's house,

and take him in his bed. The conquest of this town would decide the insurrection of all the north of Germany, for it contained more than five hundred cannon, one hundred and twenty thousand stand of arms, together with ammunition and provisions for an army, sufficient to last six months. When we reflect how little was wanting for the realization of this project, it is difficult to conceive the improvidence or unskilfulness of the French authorities in abandoning a place of so much importance. Great dependance must indeed have been placed on its invincibility to excuse such a contempt of the most necessary precautions.

The second plan, more certain, promised a tedious, though not less decisive result: Schill, with his little army, could have reached Wernigerode, traversed the Hartz, and surprised Cassel; the number of his troops would have been augmented by the insurgents of Hesse, and he would have been joined, in a few days, by thirty or forty

thousand peasants; with the assistance of whom the rest of the kingdom would have risen in rebellion.

Instead of this, after having crossed the Elbe at Acker, he lost a week in rambling about the flat country between Halle and Magdeburg; rifling the receiver's chest and the post office, also in collecting a handful of brigands who followed him in the hope of pillage. While he so foolishly lost his time, he afforded others leisure for the adoption of preventive measures.

The first regiment of the line, which was stationed at Cassel, was immediately sent to Magdeburg, at the request of General Michaud, and it entered the place of destination without having seen the enemy. This re-inforcement at once insured the safety of the town.

After several marches and counter-marches, Schill appeared two leagues from Mag-deburg, on the road from Halle. He seemed prepared to approach the fortress. All

his strength was in cavalry; and by one of those singular chances, which sometimes decide affairs of importance, there happened to be only a brigade of six gens-d'armes in the town.

It became necessary to oppose infantry to cavalry in a flat country. General Michaud sent a company of French voltigeurs, and two companies of Westphalians under the command of Colonel Wauthier and General Uslar, aid-de-camp to Jerome, to meet the enemy. General Michaud was an old soldier, and yet he was guilty of so glaring an error, as sending indifferent infantry to meet four hundred efficient cavalry in a flat country; fortunately Schill did not take advantage of this error. The intention of the governor of Magdeburg was to allow this man to move about the country as much as he chose, and to temporize till re-inforcements arrived; for it was clear that Schill could not scale Magdeburg with cavalry; besides it was easy to perceive that, as he had remained a fortnight without

taking any decisive step, his enterprise could not succeed.

Uslar issued from Magdeburg with his troops, and marched forth very coolly. He was however surprised, at half a league from the town, to find himself close to the enemy, and attacked at once sword in hand. It was with difficulty that he prepared his troops for battle on a bank. Schill, perceiving that there were Germans among the troops sent against him, tried to effect a parley in order to gain deserters; but his envoys were received with a discharge of musketry from the French voltigeurs. Either General Uslar did not perceive the stratagem of Schill, or he intended to betray his cause for he ordered his soldiers to cease firing. The whole regiment, and perhaps Magdeburg itself, would have been lost but for the courage and presence of mind of the officer who commanded the French. He formed his company into a square, declared to Uslar that he would no longer recognize him as general, and com-

menced so well-directed a fire, that the enemy were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The Westphalians very soon followed the good example of the French, and defended themselves vigourously. Schill, no longer daring to oppose them, effected his retreat. Colonel Wauthier was mortally wounded in this affair. He was an officer of distinction; as for General Uslar, Jerome dismissed him on the representations of Michaud.

The latter did not evince more wisdom or prudence. He had come from Magdeburg during the action, like a madman, to see, as he said, what was going on. Certainly for an officer, who had been at the head of the French army*, this sally was very ill-timed. There were unpleasant rumours afloat among the populace; Schill was expected at the gates; and if he had presented himself, the chances

* General Michaud commanded the army of the Rhine in 1793.

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were much in favour of their being opened to him; in which case, General Michaud must have been satisfied with an external view of a place which he could never have re-entered.

Schill again failed in the last chance of success which fortune had so liberally offered; forming a half circle round Magdeburg, he went to Wanzleben, in order to gain the left bank of the Elbe which conducted him to Domitz, where he quietly took up his quarters. The most undeniable proof of his incapacity is, that after a military march of sixty leagues in a country disposed to revolt, he did not collect more than about a hundred vagabonds, who merely embarrassed without being useful to him.

His movements proved that they could tend to nothing more than securing his own safety; for he approached the sea to make good his retreat. In this supposition he must either have been very ignorant, or extremely ill informed, for he made a halt half way, when he might have been every instant seized. He

remained a fortnight in the small town of Domitz, instead of proceeding immediately to Stralsund, and going to the island of Rugen. He only determined on this when a Dutch and Danish force, under the command of Gratien, threatened to cut off his retreat.

As to Westphalia, it was no longer in danger, Schill had quitted the country; the only loss sustained were a few trix dollars from the public treasury. Tranquillity was re-established, apprehensions were no longer entertained, and the court of Cassel, awaking rather tardily from its lethargy, sent Dalb.... the most famous of its generals, to pursue and take the adventurer, who was still at Domitz.

This place is a paltry little town surrounded by earthen parapets. The enemy, apprehensive of being surprised had barricadoed themselves within. Dalb..., in passing through Magdeburg, made preparations, as though he had been going to attack Mayence or Luxembourg; he required engineers, miners,

pioneers, heavy cannon, commissaries, &c.! This drew down the ridicule of the French: two howitzers were given to him, and with these he departed, much dissatisfied, to fulfil the object of his expedition.

Schill, who was five marches in advance, had departed some days before for Stralsund: when Dalb....arrived at Domitz, he only found about fifty wretches who had been left to cover the retreat of their commander. These being badly armed, dying with hunger, and very unwilling to fight, surrendered at discretion, without a shot being fired. Dalb...., not judging it prudent to follow Schill beyond the Elbe, returned to Magdeburg, which he entered triumphantly, like a Roman general followed by his illustrious captives!

The Danish and Dutch troops employed to intercept the retreat of the Prussian patriot, acquitted themselves so ineffectually of their commission, that there was every chance of finding him embarked on their arrival. Ge-

neral Gratien at last appeared with his troops before Stralsund, and was a little astonished to perceive that Schill was on the defensive.

He had been a week in possession of the town; either he had not the means of embarkation or he thought it would be possible to maintain himself in that fortress, as preparations were made to resist Gratien. He succeeded, with the assistance of the peasants, in replacing the ruined outworks of the town; trenches were made and a battery thrown up, on which twenty pieces of cannon, found in the town, were planted.

Gratien, having lost the opportunity of giving battle to Schill in the open country, had no other resource than to commence a forcible attack on the town. His responsibility to the emperor was so much compromised that he dared not hesitate.

The redoubts were attacked with great valour and carried by the bayonet, not without considerable loss. The Dutch, who be-

haved themselves bravely, pursued the enemy into the streets of the town; they fought there for several hours; but at length the followers of Schill were overpowered; he, himself, in going out of the hotel de Ville to give some orders, received two shots of which he immediately expired. After the action Gratien caused him to be sought for among the dead, and was highly gratified in his being found. The prisoners having identified his person, his head was put in a vessel filled with spirits of wine, and sent as a trophy to Cassel. It was even almost determined to expose it to the multitude, like the heads of the rebel pachas which adorn the avenues of the seraglio at Constantinople.

It appears as if the incursion of Schill formed a branch of the formidable conspiracy which comprehended the whole of the north of Germany, and which his awkwardness rendered abortive. Though positive information on this subject had never been obtained,

the public mind became restless, and it appeared as if a repetion of the Sicilian vespers, towards the French, was meditating.

The Hessians were by this time in a state of insurrection; the toscin sounded in the open country, and twenty thousand peasants, armed with various weapons, marched in different directions towards the royal residence at Cassel.

It was most strange that neither the governor R. . . ., nor the police were informed of this movement, which had been long preparing almost in their very sight. The great business of the ministers of state at Cassel was to give parties, balls, and suppers, every thing else was neglected.

The principal column of the insurgents, assembled at Wabert, advanced tumultuously towards the Francfort gate, while another came through Paderborn to the Dutch gate.

Jerome felt that his situation was critical. No succours could arrive in time to deliver him, and he found himself blockaded in his

palace. He had only two thousand infantry and eighteen hundred horse of his guards, in whom he could not place entire confidence, with a few pieces of cannon, to oppose to the insurgents.

A colonel, who was sent against the enemy which threatened the Dutch gate, with six hundred light infantry aud two pieces of cannon, went over to the peasants and placed himself at their head. This officer became the principal leader of the insurrection. His project was said to be that of seizing on the king's person.

The Germans are by no means capable of carrying on conspiracies, not that they are deficient in a proper degree of reserve and prudence, for they carry these qualities to excess, but because they are too methodical and tedious in the formation and execution of their decisions. The colonel in question, instead of taking advantage of the ardour of the peasants, and immediately entering Cassel, must needs proceed to military arrangements, as

if he had been at the head of a regular army. The result was uncertainty, hesitation, and delays; the minds of the people became calm, and the armed body lost its spirit. It is not in the power of every one to change the fate of an empire; twenty-four hours in a revolution are precious, and the loss of them is never to be retrieved.

Jerome, seeing the desertion of his guards, adopted a very noble resolution. He mounted his horse, called his troops together, energetically harangued them, and appealed to their loyalty, leaving them at liberty to join the insurgents, or to defend themselves with fidelity. There is, in the German character, a certain probity of ancient days which it is necessary to understand in order to govern the people. Jerome, by this chivalrous conduct, gained every heart. Officers and soldiers swore to defend him. Will it be believed that there were some frank enough to declare that they would join the enemy, and that they were even suffered to go!

In the mean time General Eblé, who was in this exigency, both minister and soldier, took advantage of the inactivity of the insurgents to attack them with advantage. As they had no other artillery than the two cannon given up by Dornb...and as there were twenty pieces in the arsenal at Cassel, the guns were placed during the night at the threatened points. In the morning the artillery fired on the peasants with so much success, that confusion ensued, and the cavalry succeeded in dispersing them. These people had been four or five days absent from their dwellings, most of them were in want of food, and only wished to be permitted to return home. The leaders were very soon left to themselves; never was an insurrection more alarming or more quietly subdued.

Cassel exhibited, for several days after, a very ludicrous appearance. On one side were seen Frenchmen employed in a civil capacity, mounting guard with old halberds and matchlocks, which had not seen daylight since the

thirty year's war; on the other Germans, on whose faces were depicted both joy and anxiety; so that one party seemed to cry while the other gave way to laughter. If by chance you walked through the streets, you not unfrequently saw a chamberlain, in silk stockings, performing the manual exercise with a halberd.

The consequences of the disturbances in Lower-Hesse had been much more serious. The insurgents forcibly entered Marburg, in which the troops of the district were stationed, plundered the treasury and prefecture, and ill treated the authorities. Fortunately Marshal Kellerman was at this time occupied in forming provisionary battalions to recruit the German army. He sent some of these soldiers from Frankfort, where he was when the first intelligence of the tumult reached him. These young and scarcely organized soldiers were not very formidable, but they wore the French uniform, and it is known what effect this dress produced in Germany and else-

where at one period; order was therefore once more restored.

The colonel and the principal leaders had disappeared. It should be added that, on this occasion, no vengeance was exercised on the part of government towards any of the offenders, with the exception of some of the most violent rebels, who braved authority with more inflexibility than others, and whom, therefore, it became necessary to punish.

The King of Westphalia threw a veil of oblivion over the faults those against of whom he had so much reason to complain. He exhibited the clemency and moderation natural to his character, and favourable to his interest. Some children of the family of Colonel D.... were at the military school in Brunswick, at the expense of the king, they continued to enjoy this favour after the treason of their relation.

Those who are weakest, must respect public opinion, which is far more powerful than kings, and they should not irritate the popu-

lar feeling. This policy is applicable to all periods, and to every country.

Events now crowded on each other, with such surprising rapidity, that it was difficult to follow their course. Many new circumstances daily awakened the hopes of some and the fears of others. The princes of the confederation began to imitate the policy of Napoleon in giving to public opinion a fresh turn every week. Men are so simple and submit so easily to the force of inveterate habit or apparent necessity, that whoever succeeds in deceiving them must end by becoming their master. In some cases the art of governing is that of telling lies with unblushing effrontery. The world is made up of folly and pride; the multitude is always credulous, and if a few doubt, they dare not say so.

It was easy to see, notwithstanding the official statements of the day, that the English having failed in their expedition to the mouths of the Scheldt, left Napoleon without any cause of uneasiness in this quarter. He was still

opposing the Austrians on the Danube, and the hostile armies prepared on both sides for the battle of Wagram.

Though Germany and Wesphalia in particular, were free from commotion, a considerable body of Austrians, commanded by General Am-Ende, manifested an intention of invading Saxony, through the defiles of Bohemia, and rekindling the flames of insurrection. In this corps were a few fugitive Hessians, and a troop commanded by the Duke of Oels, son of the celebrated Duke of Brunswick, who was mortally wounded at Jena in the midst of the Prussian army.

Napoleon wishing to oppose to this force an army capable of conquering it, and having no French troops unemployed, gave the command to the King of Westphalia, who, to his own soldiers, was to unite the Dutch division of General Gratien, and a few troops of the grand Duchy of Berg.

The whole of this little army amounted to about twenty thousand men, of which two

thousand were cavalry; the Westphalian troops, who composed the guard, formed about half of the above number.

Jerome then marched into Saxony at the head of his soldiers. Having joined the Dutch at Leipsic, he advanced towards the mountains of Bohemia to reconnoitre the defiles. Rew.....chief of the staff, the Count de Bernt....de, Dalb....ac, and Bon....s, were the great men who commanded under him. As to Gratien, he did as he pleased with his Dutch soldiers.

Never was an army worse conducted than this; every body gave orders and no one obeyed them; it was a perfect bear-garden: the commissaries of war pillaged, the officers drank, the soldiers marauded, while the generals gamed; it was, in fact, totally impossible to say who commanded.

The King was followed by a part of his court; he also took horses, carriages, valets and useless attendants without number, it was even said that there were some comedians

at head quarters. Fortunately the enemy was not near, or the confusion would have been dreadful!....A bivouac in approaching the mountains of Bohemia, and an alarm which terrified every body, are worthy of record: it was ludicrous to see the chamberlains running in their silk stockings and embroidered clothes about the muddy fields of Saxony! These drawing-room soldiers left their shoes in the ruts to accelerate their flight! It was only a panic, but the shadow of an Austrian would have sufficed to disperse this army. If Am-Ende had only dispatched fifty soldiers he might have taken the King and all his court. The spies of this general must have been very remiss not to have seized such an opportunity for signalizing themselves.

The courtiers began to be tired of war, when they heard of the conclusion of the armistice which preceded the peace with Austria. By a singular exception in this armistice, the auxiliaries in the service of Austria were not included. The result was

that the Duke of Oels, left to himself with his troops, had the alternative of making war on his own account, or of forcing a passage through Germany and going to England, in the pay of which he was. He naturally adopted the latter expedient.

This prince is the same who was killed at the battle of Waterloo. It is a remarkable coincidence that his troops were placed precisely opposite to those commanded by Jerome, on that sanguinary day.

He was a man of about forty, of a commanding stature and martial countenance; partial to the French, speaking their language from predilection, and fighting them like a lion because they had deprived him of the duchy of Brunswick. The passions of this prince were so vehement, his emotions so strong, and his imagination so ardent, that his hair, eyebrows, and beard became entirely white in twenty-four hours after the disaster of the Russians at Jena and the death of his father.

An experienced warrior, he preserved

great coolness on the field of battle. Amidst his companions in arms he appeared a private soldier: a brown great coat and a cap of the same colour, composed his outward costume. From sleeping on the ground with his troops, sharing their labours, privations, and dangers, he commanded a body of heroes; small in number, but formidable in courage and loyalty.

Such was the man who undertook to march with a thousand soldiers from Bohemia to Bremen, and to embark there, travelling over a space of one hundred and fifty leagues, exposed to the armies and fortresses of his enemies. As this enterprizing action has never been sufficiently celebrated, I shall here retrace some of the circumstances.

Leaving Egra immediately after the armistice, he descended into the plains of Saxony, stole several marches on the regiments which watched him, and with astonishing celerity reached the borders of the Saale. Arrived at Halle, he took the arms of a company of

Westphalian veterans, and augmented his troops with some peasants, with which he lined the Hartz mountains, to secure an asylum against any superior force which might present itself.

General Michaud, governor of Magdeburg, was well informed of his proceedings, but being without cavalry, pursuit was impossible. Having the disposal of only the fifth regiment of Westphalian infantry, under the command of the grand marshal of the palace, Count de Wellingerode, he could not annoy the duke's march; besides this newly-formed regiment was ordered to Hamburgh.

Every one was so far from supposing the Duke of Oels could be the aggressor, that the regiment departed from its place of destination, and marched without taking any of the usual precautions in the vincity of an enemy. The corps safely arrived at its second halting place, which was Halberstadt; entered it at ten o'clock in the morning, and remained there to refresh in perfect security.

The grand marshal has been reproached with carelessness; he certainly was wrong in not being sufficiently on his guard. A surprise was improbable, because the gendarmerie were posted in all directions. Unfortunately the Duke of Oels was far from being a novice, he knew that his views were seconded by the inhabitants, was well acquainted with the route, and also fully aware of the strength, and negligence of the troops against whom he had to contend. So that nothing was more natural than to seize this regiment while on his march.

A range of wooded hills formed an amphitheatre from Hartz to the foot of the high walls which enclose Halberstadt; the duke glided, by the paths which cross these woods without being perceived, to the gates of that town, which he seized.

This was in the month of June, and about six o'clock in the evening. Colonel Meyr.. was at his quarters, and the regiment drawn up in the great square, without arms, in foraging caps, were answering their names to the

roll-call, when suddenly the enemy's cavalry, issuing from several streets, put the disarmed infantry to the sword. The grand marshal had only time to go out of his lodgings, and then only to be made a prisoner. The straggling soldiers dispersed, some re-entered Magdeburg without clothing, others hid themselves in their native villages. The equipment of this regiment had cost six hundred thousand francs; and not a drum case was saved. After this affair, the duke pursued the road to Brunswick, taking with him his prisoners to whom he refused their parole, not from contempt, but because he considered a grand marshal of the palace, taken from the court of Westphalia by a partisan, as a remarkable trophy.

While these events were passing, peace with Austria was concluded, and the Westphalians having nothing to do in Saxony, returned to Cassel. Jerome, on his arrival, being informed of the audacious march of the Duke

of Oels through his dominions; sent the army which had returned from Saxony, under the command of General R.. against him.

This officer ought to have taken up a position on the road from Brunswick to Luneburg, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat, while the division of Gratien, following the route of the duke, would have assailed him in the rear. As there were no less than from twelve to fifteen thousand men hemming in a thousand partisans, fatigued with long marches, it was not therefore doubted that they would all be made prisoners.

The prince arrived at Brunswick one day before R. . . . and bivouacked with his regiment, at the gates of the town. He did not enter the palace of his ancestors, though the inhabitants rushed in crowds to view this noble scion of their ancient sovereigns. "A "fugitive," said he to them, "I am going to try "the fate of arms; remain tranquil; let

" me follow my destiny; obey your new mas-
" ter; and we shall see each other again in
" more prosperous times." He did not then imagine his prophecy would be so speedily accomplished.

R....had five or six thousand men under his orders. He arrived before Brunswick in the night, and took his station at a short distance from the gate of Luneburg, intercepting, as he had been ordered, the route of the duke. The enemy presented themselves at day-break, and endeavoured to force their passage. The sixth Westphalian regiment, composed of conscripts who had never stood fire, and who were placed, for what reason cannot be divined, in the van, disbanded at the first volley, creating the utmost disorder among the other corps. The guards and cuirassiers had maintained their ground, but receiving no directions how to act, and believing the enemy to be numerous, they followed the retrogade motion. From every part R.... was called on for orders; but

placing himself on a stone in a ditch, holding his head between his hands, R.... was determined to give none. The route became general; cavalry, artillery, infantry, all fled in confusion across the fields; they could not be rallied at a less distance than two leagues from the scene of action. The governor of Cassel had, in fact, very nearly accompanied the grand marshal to England.

The Duke of Oels having thus prepared the way, peaceably continued his march to Bremen, where he embarked without any obstacle.

When Jerome learned the defeat of his troops and the conduct of his general, he did not know how to proceed. Although a bad general, R....was a good courtier. He was in high favour, and it is well known that kings hold as much to their favourites as to their mistresses. Nevertheless, the folly of the general was so apparent and notorious, that the meanest corporal would have condemned him. As it was necessary to determine on prompt measures; there appeared a de-

creé in the Moniteur dismissing R.... from all his employments; declaring him incapable of serving, and ordering him to quit the kingdom. The king gained much credit for having sacrificed his personal inclinations, to reasons of state and public opinion. The favourite went to America and was thought of no more. As severity was the order of the day, the commander of Halberstadt was dismissed; this was a Colonel d'Ast.... an old French emigrant, who had just submitted to a most dangerous surgical operation, and he could not, therefore, have defended the town against the Duke of Oels.

An illustrious alliance had just been formed; Napoleon summoned the members of his family, and the princes of Europe from all parts, to give more effect and grandeur to the ceremony of his marriage. The King and Queen of Westphalia were among the first arrivals at Paris.

At the same time General Eblé, becoming tired of the air of Westphalia, and not less

so of every thing that surrounded him, seeing besides that his ministry could not procure him much glory, demanded and obtained permission to return to France. His departure was viewed without regret; a fact by no means surprising, considering his great merits.

CHAPTER VI.

The Westphalians at Hamburgh.—New financial Embarrassments.—D'Alb....Minister of War.—Pleasure Camp at Cassel.—Intrigues.—Salh....—His Advancement.—Attempt of the Police to seize the Papers of M. de Bulow, Minister of Finance.—Division in the Ministry.—Saying of the Emperor Napoleon to General Mor.... on his Return from Spain —Mission of M. de Bulow to Paris.

DURING his stay in Paris, Jerome obtained permission from Napoleon for a part of his army, which had been so roughly handled by the patriots, to be recruited at the expense of the Hanse-Towns; consequently Bong...., who had assumed the command after the disgrace of R...., conducted them to Hamburgh.

What a prolific source of plunder is not that commercial emporium! was there a general ruined, a regiment in tatters, a commissary to enrich, or a spy to reward, they were sent to Hamburgh, and in less than three

months they left it in the best possible condition! Those were the golden days! The table cloth was always spread and the soup prepared. These Hamburghers are really a very generous race, and know how to manage matters in a proper way. If the senators noted every individual they have fed, lodged, and cloathed, such a list would no doubt prove a curious and interesting document.

The unfortunate Westphalians, who were not so well treated as the French in their own country, were delighted at the idea of being fed by the good citizens of Hamburgh; and though the latter made wry faces, their new visitors did not seem to perceive them. It was necessary first to re-equip the cuirassiers, and even to furnish them with horses: in vain did the burghers urge that it was *impossible*; when one corps was put in good order another took its place, and fresh expenses were incurred. They forgot that the law of the universe is: *woe to the vanquished!*

The table of General Bong....., was

sumptuously supplied. He would willingly have consented to continue the war in this manner, for the occupation was a good one.

The King of Westphalia did not return from Paris to Cassel till September 1809. Notwithstanding the management of M. de Bulow, the finances became daily more embarrassed. All his witchcraft consisted in adding to the number of loans, and the period was approaching when accumulated interest would double the capital of the lenders. Confidence was at an end, and it is well known that nothing can be done in finance without that foundation.

Public opinion was loudly expressed against these forced loans, but no regard was paid to it; the capitalists were merely decoyed by a mortgage on the possessions of a number of unsecularized convents. The domains of these establishments were seized as if in performance of a promise, and the religious obtained pensions. But the national faith and credulity were very soon taken advantage

of. The money of the people was first taken and their domains alienated afterwards. It was the sale of these possessions, that the Elector of Hesse would never acknowledge, and which has given rise to so many complaints to the late Congress, Germanic Diet, &c.

Every thing in the administration proceeded from bad to worse ; there was always a deficit in the war department, because no provision was made for contingencies. To complete this picture, the guidance of the ministry fell from the hands of General Eblé into those of a man who was ridiculed and derided in the council. He managed the affairs of the king as he would have done those of a groom of the stables, signed despatches without reading them, never replied to questions that were asked ; answered those which were not addressed to him, and gave domains in payment to contractors to whom nothing was due. The wits, in allusion to his name, said that there was *nic* and *nac* in the war office.

The system of profusion now went on

swimmingly. A certain chief of division was at length made happy; he had feathered his nest, and of course became a personage of importance. His first care was to enrich himself, and he had no great trouble in accomplishing this object. It was well known that he had not a very large share of delicacy in the choice of his means for the above purpose. His great talent lay in making fraudulent bargains, which ruined the state, while they filled his own pockets. It was also notorious, throughout Cassel, that he insisted on the payment of ten per cent. on articles for which contracts were made; a conduct so noble and disinterested, obtained for him the decoration of the order of Westphalia; it is true he well deserved an order, but certainly not that one. The personage thus noticed had the audacity, but not the cunning of a rogue; his maxim was, that to *take* is not to *steal*. In other respects, he was all sugar and honey; sometimes he acted the part of an honest man: it is a pity

that he did not enter into the spirit of the character.

In the midst of these infamous proceedings, feasts and rejoicings succeeded each other without interruption. Nevertheless, Jerome became royally wearied: so true it is, that the intoxication of vice is not of long continuance, and that its illusions soon give place to satiety. It was doubtless with the intention of varying this monotonous scene that the troops were assembled in a pleasure camp near Cassel. Jerome directed the manœuvres, while his generals made the most laborious exertions to execute them. The ladies of the court and city came in their carriages to the camp; they breakfasted, dined, gambolled under the tents; and witnessed the evolutions: it was really charming!.... Bernadotte and the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg were accidentally at Cassel. The first was going to place himself by the side of the King of Sweden; the other travelled, having nothing better to do.

It is said that the latter was not insensible to the charms of Madame L...; but he was surprised to find that Jerome had a prior claim: Jerome, in his turn, discovered a rival in a young and handsome clerk of the war office, while the clerk's deputy was a life guardsman. This affair made some noise, and was spoken of in the scandalous circles of Cassel; people only whispered it about at first, and the police was on the alert for a whole fortnight to trace the authors.

The Prince of Wurtemberg *intended* to make some handsome presents, but this ended in smoke; the King of Westphalia had promised a jewel box, and thought no more of it. The clerk and guardsman were obliged to relinquish their pursuit rather suddenly. Some time afterwards Jerome became reconciled, paid the debts of the lady, and gave her husband I know not what fief, with the title of Count. I do not recollect what arms this illustrious nobleman adopted, but cer-

tainly they were not those most appropriate to his domestic history.

His wife belonged to a good Italian family, and was not without some attractions. With respect to propriety and conduct, she had just enough to prevent her from becoming a street walker.

L... was the most courteous and debonair of husbands: it is true that he, on his part, gave many a proof of infidelity to the marriage contract; in other respects nothing could be more accommodating than his general demeanour. On returning home in the evening he never went to the apartments of his wife without being previously announced; and Jerome might have been satisfied that, by leaving a sandal at the door of madame, he would interdict the approach of the most complaisant of husbands to the chamber of the most condescending of wives.

Madame G...., who also aimed at the handkerchief, but who was too ugly to obtain it,

was clamourous with regard to the intrigues of the king. She collected all the scandalous anecdotes in circulation respecting her rival, and charitably circulated them about the court. This conduct procured for her the honour of a species of exile; her husband was sent as *chargé-d'affaires* to a neighbouring court, to which she accompanied him, and remained there till the dissolution of the kingdom.

The governor of the pages also took on himself the charge of amourous purveyor, for it seemed to be the easiest road to honours and dignities. He had succeeded in rousing the slumbering passions of Jerome by procuring some new candidates for the smiles of royalty. This act of kindness did not go unrewarded: the influence of Dalb.... evidently declined. It is true that his complaisance and the nature of his services, scarcely compensated for his rudeness and ill breeding. He had, during a field-day at the pleasure camp, carried this habitual disposition so far

as to tell his majesty to go to the devil! The sovereign pretended not to hear him, but some of those officious friends who abound in courts, did not fail to repeat this insult, or omit seasoning it with the acrid sauce of a courtier. Jerome was, therefore, obliged to banish him; but Dalb....anticipated this event by tendering his resignation.

It occasioned great surprise to see Sa....honoured with the title of Count de Hœ...., and given a place in the war department. It was said that none but fools and idiots would be found there. Sa...., was the most imbecile of men, and incapable of forming a judgment or resolution for himself. Never having served, except in the navy, he was a total stranger to military duties. No wonder, therefore, if peculators and public robbers sang *te deum* when they heard of his nomination.

M. de Bulow's financial ministry was sometimes stormy and sometimes bright. He disregarded the French as much as possible, in order to provide for his own countrymen, and

particularly for those who were in his confidence; this was very natural. He preserved his place by sustaining, from day to day, the expiring credit. He had made finance, in Westphalia, a sort of magic lanthorn, in which he alone recognised himself, because he wished to retain his situation. This mode of caculating was not devoid of address on the part of a man who, in the commencement of his power, was considered as a mere ignoramus.

The greater the power of a minister the more he is envied, and the nearer he is to his fall. Mistrust was excited in the mind of the king as to the regularity of Bulow's money transactions; it was insinuated that he purposely concealed the financial resources of the kingdom in order to govern the king, and to make himself necessary to him; that he dictated to the council, was engaged in suspicious correspondence, had secretly leagued with Prussia, and possessed creatures in every branch of the administration.

All this was true to a certain extent, but then

the usual mode of dismissing M. de Bulow and appointing another minister in his place should have been adopted. Instead of acting as a king, Jerome suffered himself to be led into acts which compromised his dignity, while they partook of the double nature of weakness and perfidy.

The police was ordered, by means worthy of its calling, to seize on the pretended important papers which were to unveil the conduct of M. de Bulow, and which were said to be placed in his study.

Berc.... gave the charge of executing this commission to a Frenchman, who was commissary general of the police at Cassel. This man transferred the business to one of his assistants, and gave him verbal instructions. Nothing better was imagined than to suborn the valet de chambre of M. de Bulow, in order to gain access to the cabinet of the minister; but this man, instead of betraying his master for a few pieces of gold, informed him of the plot. M. de Bulow had thus a fair op-

portunity of entrapping the police agents in their own snare, and he did not fail to avail himself of the occasion.

The valet seemed to enter into the views of the suborner, and received the bribe offered to him. Arrangements are accordingly made, and on the appointed day, the agent of the police arrives at the hour specified, and, in order to prevent being surprised, is shut up in the minister's study. Already he seizes on letters, boxes, and portfolios, when M. de Bulow, who is concealed in an interior cabinet, appears suddenly, and cries: "Stop thief!" In vain he is told that it is the agent of police, this only makes M. de Bulow cry out ten times louder; a number of people, purposely placed, serve as witnesses to prove the offence, and a declaration is drawn up: while M. de Bulow hastens to demand justice of the king. In the mean time the pretended thief is conducted to prison.

Jerome was well aware that he had compromised his dignity on this occasion; he

dared not countenance the conduct of the police, and therefore seemed to consider the matter in a very serious light; he sent therefore to the ministers for their opinions. The Count de Furst... and the minister of war, in contradiction to M. de Bulow, advised that no farther steps should be taken in the business. But Simeon, who was not aware of the original scheme, represented the consequences of such a violation with so much vehemence, that the king was constrained to act against those who had executed his orders. However, they deserved to be punished for their awkwardness. The commissary general of police and his agent were driven from Westphalia; Berc . . . ., dismissed from the police, became cabinet secretary, and General Bong...., commander of the gendarmerie, took his place.

This little triumph of M. de Bulow rendered his influence more formidable than ever. The Germans considered him as an oracle; the French feared him; and the king let him have his own way, because he fur-

nished money. All Westphalia united in one general chorus to exalt this minister to the clouds; he was almost another *Necker*; thus furnishing a new proof that the esteem of the multitude is generally commanded by success.

From this period there was a schism in the council of ministers. On one side were Bulow and Simeon for the Germans, and on the other the Count de Furst.... and the minister of war for the French. Each party had its adherents, orators, and meetings, but the contest was unequal. M. de Bulow, by his influence, and M. Simeon, by his talents, gave the preponderance to the German party.

Furst...was no eagle, and the Count de Hœ... a mere non-entity. Happily for the French they were each well tutored by their party, who now and then roused them to action. They were in fact made to learn their lessons, and could recite them with tolerable fluency in the council.

General Mor . . . . soon came to strengthen the opposition. The six thousand Westphalians who had been sent into Spain were nearly all destroyed. They had been employed in the advance line at the siege of Gerona. Desertion and the fire of the enemy had so much thinned their ranks, that, in less than half a year, the regiment was reduced to eight hundred men.

Mor . . . . had nothing to do, because the troops were mixed with the French and commanded by their generals. For some time he had solicited his recall ; Jerome could not command his return, and Napoleon made a point of being deaf to any entreaty to quit Spain. He however obtained his wishes by dint of importunity. On his return to Paris he went to be presented at the Tuileries ; but when the general of division Mor....was announced, Napoleon surveyed him from head to foot, observing in an abrupt tone : " You are quite " a novice, Sir, to be a general. In my armies " you would not even be a corporal !" after

which he turned his back without waiting for a reply. Mor....returned much mortified to Cassel; when the king, by way of consolation, made him master of the horse.

Contentions with the French cabinet for additional possessions and war contributions, still continued. The imperial commissary, Jollivet, gave many spurs to Bulow to obtain the execution of the treaty; but the latter saved himself by evasion, in order to gain time. The fact is, that the treaty of Erfurth was no longer more easy of execution than that which was concluded with M. Daru. It was not one, two, or even ten years, that could facilitate payment, for the power did not exist, and impossibilities are not to be accomplished. The continental system closed all the commercial ports; expenses increased as resources diminished, and it was not known what steps ought to be taken.

M. de Bulow, who was now in the last extremity proposed to ask the emperor for a farther delay of five years for the payment of the con-

tributions. As a negociator was requisite, and no person seemed better calculated for the office than himself, he was sent to Paris.

This mission was such as amply to flatter his self-love; but he knew that absence might destroy him as well as the intrigues of courtiers; he would therefore have gladly excused himself: nevertheless, he became so completely entangled in the affair that escape was impossible. His enemies, anticipating their triumph, took no pains to dissimulate the joy they felt; as to Bulow, himself, he proceeded to Paris, without alarming himself in the least with any dismal forbodings, and believing that his good stars would enable him to overcome all difficulties.

CHAPTER VII.

Union of Hanover and Westphalia.—New Favours bestowed on Count de Wellingerode.—Allix, is made Governor of Cassel.—Intrigues of the French against M. de Bulow. —Violation of the Secrecy of Letters.—High Police. —History of a Petition.—New Intrigues.—Signal Disgrace of the Minister Bulow.—Malch...summoned to the Ministry.—Anecdotes of this Personage.—Incapacity of Count de Hœ.., Minister of War.—Typographical Cabinet.—Bon-Mot of a Courtier.

Scarcely had M. de Bulow departed for Paris, when the Emperor Napoleon gave Hanover to his brother. It was not a splendid present, for Hanover was exhausted; its domains had been distributed to the French generals, and its public debt augmented that of Westphalia, without compensating the inconvenience by any real advantage. Besides the inhabitants, aggrieved in every way, were far from being guarantees of the public safety. England still maintained

much influence in this country nothwithstanding the vigilance of the police; and thirty thousand soldiers of the disbanded Hanoverian army could not but be formidable, although dispersed. This state of things created the necessity of a standing army in Hanover, and the maintenance of this army of course devolved on the Westphalian treasury: on every account, therefore, this acquisition was more onerous than useful.

It was about this time that the grand marshal of the palace was changed through the interposition of France. The Count de Wellingerode was indebted for this favour to the entreaties of Jerome to Napoleon; for the latter cared no more for this personage, than for any other officer of the Westphalian court. The king was delighted to see his favourite again, consoled him for his bad fortune, paid his debts, and made him a general, with a command in the guards.

After the disgrace of R...., General Heldring was sent for from Brunswick to be made

governor of Cassel; but this old man, feeling himself incompetent to the post, was succeeded by Allix. The manners of this officer exhibited a perfect contrast to those of the persons who surrounded him. Naturally studious and sombre, Allix rarely appeared at court; he was never seen in any society intrigue, or scandal coterie; but he conversed occasionally, and always to the purpose. The courtiers called him *the bear*. They were, however, afterwards happy to unchain the bear, that he might protect their flight.

M. de Bulow had been at Paris several months, and as yet nothing had transpired respecting the result of his mission. Meanwhile, the French party did not slumber; the opportunity for ruining him was eagerly watched, and the principal person concerned in the plot was Bong...., director of the police, an enemy no less bitter than dangerous. All means were resorted to for the accomplishment of their object; absurd tales of his conduct in Paris were circulated; his admi-

nistration and talents were criticised, and his person ridiculed. There appeared, at this time, a spirited epigram, at which the king was the first to laugh. The poet laureat, Brugniere was accused of being the author of it. In this distitch, a comparison was drawn between Bulow and Midas; but it was far from being complimentary to the former, who had only the merit of possessing the ears of the Phrygian king, without any of his other attributes.

Although the genius of the Germans does not consist in point or epigram, they endeavoured to reply; caricature portraits of Brugniere were exhibited, with an inscription issuing from his mouth, on which he was made to say, that, although the wiseacres denied the merit of his poetry, it was not only bought by, but written for the simpletons of Cassel.

This paper-war was a prelude to more serious intrigues. Bong....intercepted the private letters of M. de Bulow, and those which were written to him from Westphalia. The post-

master general, who had much to complain of from the minister, willingly lent himself to this intrigue; Furst..... and Mor..... beset the king; the storm gathered over the heads of the German party and their leader. Simeon was never more inactive than under these circumstances, he neither exerted himself for or against Bulow, and prudently awaited the event to congratulate the conqueror.

The sublime invention of violating the secrecy of letters being once implanted in the kingdom, the police cultivated the exotic with the utmost care, and caused it to flourish beyond all expectations. One day a confidential letter fell into the hands of the Sainte Hermandad, or holy inquisition, written by M. Provençal, secretary general of finance, to his patron M. de Bulow, giving an account of what was passing at Cassel. In this letter he drew an odd sketch of the French residents, dwelt on the court, and indirectly ridiculed the king; the letter ended with entreating M. de Bulow to

return as soon as possible to Cassel, where his presence was necessary to put every thing in order.

Such a composition was indeed a treasure! It was carried to Jerome with the usual comments; but his majesty did not dismiss his minister, as was expected; he contented himself with being in a rage with the indiscreet Provençal, when he saw him shortly after in a room of the palace. Ashamed and confounded at what had occurred, the poor secretary lost his self-possession, was quite overpowered, and altogether, the scene would not have been a bad subject for a drama *à la* Kotzebue. The worst part of the affair was that he lost his place, and, as he lived in the government house, he was allowed but two hours for his removal. A M. Bail, who had been his predecessor in this situation, and to whom it was intended to be restored, had been recalled from Magdeburg. He was a diffident man, resembling in some respects Allix and Eblé; as he disliked the court, he

refused the proffered favour, and kept his place as inspector of reviews.

Erostratus is said to have burned the temple of Ephesus to attain celebrity; Bong...., who thought himself a second *Fouché*, invented conspiracies to prove the excellence of the police. He discovered a plot in a comma, and a revolt in a note of admiration! After having submitted his ideas to the inquiry of his alguazils, by violating the secrecy of private correspondence, he had only to interpret silence in the manner of Tiberius; but there was a great difference between Tiberius and Bong....

This man was likewise one of those apostates who pounced, like birds of prey, on the employments and orders distributed by the family of Napoleon; nothing could equal his rapacity, but his folly. Bong...., at the head of the police, knew every thing but what he should have known; gossiping, like an old woman, with whoever he happened to meet, he fancied he detected secrets; and,

on the departure of any person to whom he had been speaking, he immediately wrote down the conversation that passed. We must however do him justice where it is called for. No one could more ably arrange scandalous bulletins, as he took care to enrich them with old stories of his own. He amused his master, and what he did not know was invented.

A story of a petition is related of him which richly deserves a place among his bulletins.

A very pretty girl comes to his audience with a petition in her hand. The chief magistrate ogles, singles her out, and in a low tone desires her to go into his cabinet. He hastily dispatches the other applicants, and enters the room glowing with ardour. "What are "your wishes, my love?" "Here is a petition, "Sir." "A petition! ha! very well! it shall "be read my angel; such a creature as you "must be in the right." During this colloquy his libertine hand was wandering over the

attractions of the unknown beauty. "But; "my lord, you forget; pray attend to my re- "quest, read." Alas! his lordship has no longer any command over himself, and willingly or forcibly triumphs over the apparently unsophisticated fair one. Recovered from his intoxication, he releases the angel; and, having nothing better to do, picks up the petition which had fallen on the floor, looks it over, and scarcely believes his eyes; reads it a hundred times, always with equal surprise: it was a request to be admitted into the hospital—the remainder may be guessed! My lord swore (but it was a little too late), that she should not be received. From this time forward he read with great attention the petitions of ladies before he presented his own.

Jerome, at length, began to be disgusted with madame L....., her debts had been paid two or three times; besides, when a woman is mercenary she is not always faithful. This lady declined the more rapidly in favour, because a new object eclipsed her.

The prefect of the palace had brought a wife from Alsace; being a courtier, it is needless to add that he took care to choose a pretty woman as the best means of obtaining at honours without anxiety and trouble. Madame de B....pleased the king, and the king pleased Madame de B.....The husband desired nothing better: matters were admirably arranged; exactly at the end of nine months he enjoyed the honours of paternity. W...., the Jew, who served in the horse-guards, was willing to be the go-between in the intrigue: this obtained for him the rank of general, the place of equerry, and the decoration of the order of Westphalia. Nothing is too expensive for a lover; it was merely necessary to be obliging, and near at hand in order to make a fortune.

It was now signified that M. de Bulow had only obtained a delay of two years for the liberation of Westphalia, and that Napoleon would take back Hanover: this he accordingly did. The French party vociferated

loudly on the inability of the negotiating minister; clamours against him were universal, on his return to Cassel. M. de Bulow was a man of great coolness, and not alarmed by mere noise; he presented himself to the king on his arrival with his usual assurance, and gave an account of his mission. Jerome received him more graciously than usual, and after bestowing much praise on the minister, dismissed him. M. de Bulow perfectly satisfied with what had passed, returned to his house more than ever intoxicated with the favours he had received; but this enchantment was not of long duration. He was immediately after surprised by a visit from the chief of the police, who intimated to him, in a very harsh manner, that he was no longer minister: adding, that it was the king's orders he should quit Cassel within twenty-four hours and go to his estate in Brunswick, there to remain under the eye of the police. It was likewise ordered that he should be guarded until those placed on the look out, saw him depart.

M. de Bulow took all this, or seemed to take it, very quietly. He immediately entered his carriage and was driven to the place of his banishment, escorted by a few soldiers. Two of his secretaries were arrested, and imprisoned for a fortnight; they were interrogated as criminals; but made no disclosures and were therefore released.

Such was the career of a man whom circumstances had placed at the pinnacle of power, and whom chance conducted to the highest honours. Bulow's disgrace increased his fame in Germany, and in the course of time, political events enabled him to pursue a still more brilliant career, by which he obtained both favours and honours in the Prussian monarchy.*

The real cause of his fall in Westphalia is not positively known; that intrigue in part occasioned it, is most probable, but it could not be attributed to that alone. Some

* He became minister of finance in Prussia.

pretend that M. de Bulow suggested to Napoleon the idea of uniting Westphalia with the Empire, and that the latter indignant at the knavery of the negotiator, informed his brother of the circumstance. The assertion is however without proof.

Jerome evinced in this instance a dissimulation very foreign to his character.

The event of Bulow's disgrace bestowed on M. Malch..... the place of minister of finance, the most important post in Westphalia. He also was erroneously considered a man of genius.

Malch..... was unexpectedly called upon to act his part in the political drama of Westphalia. From the commencement of the piece he would have thought himself happy to obtain the place of under-prefect: but Beugnot had made him a counsellor of state.

Malch ..., born of a poor family in the environs of Hildesheim, was brought up and educated by the charity of the chapter. Some persons declare him to have been footman to the bishop. When this country, in consequence of the secularization of ecclesiastical

principalities, became subject to Prussia, Malch.... was, what is called in Germany, a *Landsrath* (counsellor of the circle). He then evinced much anxiety to pay court to the Prussians, and, in gratitude towards his benefactors, gave information respecting the funds of the bishop and the properties of the chapter, which, from their nature, were not liable to sequestration; this obtained for him the place of counsellor of the chamber. Then came the organization of Westphalia, where the officious Malch....proved his gratitude to Prussia as he had before done to the chapter.

He was reported to have been a Jew; his name, his address and even the cast of his countenance were certainly against him. Perhaps he was descended from that Hebrew whose ear was smote off by Saint Peter; this genealogy deserves to be traced—Malch ....after having so often sung his recantation, made himself very useful at the court of Westphalia; no courtier could be more servile, no flatterer more mean. His character might be

given in two words: he was ignorant and presumptuous.

Immediately on his becoming a minister, he gave himself the most laughable airs of pride and hautiness. Nothing can be more amusing than to see half breed Germans attempt to ape French levity. Those who were admitted to an audience of his excellency, found him carelessly extended on an ottoman, inhaling the fumes of tobacco from a large Turkish pipe, and throwing little bits of sugar to a tame kid. Scarcely would he deign to look at his visitors; he replied to them in monosyllables by a nod of the head, or a slight motion of the hand: on those occasions it appeared as though his excellency was on the point of dying or falling asleep.

Such is the man who was called upon to unravel the mystery in which M. de Bulow had left the finances involved. Since the dissolution of Westphalia, M. Malch....has published a sort of apology for his conduct; but he has been guilty, in this work, of the sin of

omission. Its style is dry and diffuse, and abounding, as may be supposed, in figures of rhetoric; for this reason we are anxions to make up for his excellency's want of memory.

There was, in fact, but one man in the council who was capable of directing affairs, viz. the minister Simeon,* and, unhappily, his weakness and inactivity were unexampled; the ministry of the interior was taken from him, and he was made minister of Wolfradt, so that the department alone remained to him.

The famous Count Hœ....managed the army as he would a shoemaker's shop. He had taken as *factotum* one Humb....,who being jockey to the minister of war R. . .., awakened, like Ricco, with the epaulettes of a colonel; but at Cassel, a good figure and broad shoulders would do a great deal for

* It is M. Simeon, who has been recently called to the ministry of the interior in France, on the dismissal of M. de Cazes.—Ed.

a man. This newly made colonel understood better how to satisfy the lubricity of the ladies of the court, than to manage a regiment; he had besides a great aversion to the smell of gunpowder. When the Cossacks entered Cassel, he was one of the first to fly with his money; on this occasion he travelled sixty leagues without stopping, and did not feel himself secure till he had crossed the Rhine. Such was the worthy oracle of the Count; as to his chiefs of division, they did as they pleased; he was a mere machine, whose signature was necessary; a puppet put in motion by wires. In the course of time, even signing became too great a fatigue; and stamps were made, which any person might affix to his orders and letters.

A M. Buttlar, inspector of reviews, who was at Cassel about this period, happened to be in the way of Count Hœ....and accordingly the latter expressed a wish to dismiss him from his place, for the purpose of bestowing it on one of his own friends. But how was

this to be accomplished; can the reader divine what he did with the inspector?—He was appointed to the important charge of fattening poultry for the royal kitchen! This anecdote is well known at Cassel; but it does not, on that acount, appear the less incredible.

M. Pichon had just been nominated director general of the treasury. The system of finance became so complicated, through his abstract theories, that it was incomprehensible even to the accomptants. This minister possessed considerable talents, and had but one fault—that of not being in his element.... Employed for some time in a diplomatic capacity, he was *chargé d'affaires* to the United States at the time Jerome contracted his first marriage. Some observations of M. Pichon's against the emperor were carefully remembered by the king, who hastened to make them known to his brother; upon which Pichon was immediately recalled. It appears that Jerome, ashamed of the part he had taken in the transaction, endeavoured to stifle the

recollection of it by summoning the offender to his dominions; the persons, indeed, who laboured under the imperial displeasure went either to Naples, Madrid, or Cassel. It was therefore natural that this gentleman should come to Westphalia.

Jerome had regulated his kingdom on the model of the French empire. The Emperor had his topographical cabinet, the king had his likewise. Instead of tracing the itinerary of the army, or of drawing military maps, the self-called engineers of this cabinet, roughly sketched roads which were made for hunting parties. At the head of these engineers was a Genoese named, Gau...., a person whose self-love was extreme, and who never thought of obstacles when the exhibition of his talents was concerned. His mania was that of constantly dwelling on the fine arts. The king had taken him on the recommendation of a great connoisseur; he was sent to Brunswick to make choice of the best pictures in the gallery, and nothing could have

been more truly unfortunate than his selection. The painter Kinson was present when the specimens were placed in the palace, and as he generally told his opinion very freely, one of the questions asked by him on this occasion, in the presence of the king, was, "What dauber was it that brought this col-"lection to Cassel?"

There was not much occasion to put M. Gaut. . . .'s geographical knowledge to the test: it is even uncertain whether he really possessed any. Some persons were in doubt, because, in speaking of his art, he frequently set good sense completely at defiance. He usurped nevertheless the epaulettes of a colonel.

One circumstance particularly struck the observer at this period: it was, that all the great people of recent date, who formed the court of Cassel, and on whom Jerome so freely bestowed honours and emoluments, were embarrassed in their affairs. Every new *fête* added to the distress of these *splendid paupers*, who, though glittering in gold, had no

money in their pockets. Marino...., a wretched punster, and worse humourist, happening one day to appear at a gala in a magnificent suit, Jerome complimented him on the circumstance, and, as his majesty continued to praise the elegance, richness and taste of the dress, he replied, " Ah ! sire, they are not " paid for." The king, who knew that Marino.... was not troubled with the unfashionable weakness of paying his debts, took the hint, and very generously saved the courtier from being dunned in this instance.

CHAPTER VIII.

Quarrel between Jerome and Napoleon relative to Hanover.—Saying of Napoleon concerning the Westphalian Order of the Crown.—Treatment of the Prisoners of Schill's Corps, and that of Oels.—Alarms of the High Police.—Disgrace of Lafi...; a new Personage.—Arbitrary Acts.—New forced Loan.—Tragical End of General Mor...—Master of the Horse.—Madame Coll.. and the Count de Hoe...—Right of Priority.—Building Mania.

NAPOLEON in bestowing Hanover and retaking it from Westphalia, had marked out the place it was to occupy in the estimation of crowned heads. It was seen that its king, as well as all those who owed their elevation to the sword of the conquerer, would be little more than tributary of the great empire; and that national independence, the most precious of human treasures, was a mere chimera.

Jerome, who heard this subject discussed, felt the justice of what was said, and his self-love was naturally wounded, in being placed

in so awkward a situation. Clouds of discord now began to rise between the illustrious brothers, and a considerable degree of coolness was perceptible. Some urgent representations from Cassel were also very ill received at the Tuileries. Considering his age, and the great ascendency of the Emperor, the King of Westphalia evinced more firmness of character on this occasion than was expected from him. It is said that the latter, on reading a despatch from Jerome in which he very energetically supported his dignity, exclaimed: "Oh, oh! if my brother had three "hundred thousand men, I dare say, he "would declare war against me."

Jerome paid another visit to Paris soon after the birth of the King of Rome. It was hoped that he would have then obtained a grant of imperial munificence in favour of the Westphalian provinces, but this expectation was not realized.

The Emperor Napoleon seems to have considered Westphalia as an appendage to

his family, and regarded the institutions and acts of sovereignty, in this kingdom, as objects of secondary importance.

One day when the new decoration of the order of the crown, in Westphalia, was shewn to the Emperor, and on which the lion of Cassel, the horse of Brunswick and several other emblems were represented, he observed to those around him: "There are a great many "beasts in this order!"

Notwithstanding the fortunate issue of the Austrian war, there still existed, particularly at the close of the year 1811, in Germany, and above all in Westphalia, a latent spirit of fermentation. Numerous secret associations disturbed the public mind, and fanned the flames of disaffection. The unjust punishment of the bookseller, Palm, tended still more to irritate the Germans, and the assassination of Napoleon himself was attemtped, in the palace of Schönbrunn, by a young female fanatic of the illuminati. England had sown the seeds of discord in Italy, intrigued with Sweden and

Russia; and there seemed to be no end to the embarrassments in Spain. Public opinion, the only true guide of princes, had undergone a great change, the people dared at length to look on the Colossus before whom they had bowed.

It evidently appears that all this excited the anger of Napoleon against those individuals who had taken part in the insurrectional movements, especially the prisoners of war of the regiments of Schill and Oels. These unfortunate people were given up; ten officers, consisting principally of those forming the corps of Schill, were sent to Wesel, delivered up to a court martial, and shot. Among them were the two Wedels, sons of a Prussian general. As for the soldiers, they were confined in the prisons of Brest and Toulon.

It was during the above year that Colonel Hammerstein, who commanded the light-cavalry in Spain, was made a general and aid-de-camp to Jerome, in whose favors he participated. Ochs, the Hessian, who from lieutenant colonel, became inspector of reviews, then co-

lonel, and afterwards general, was also promoted to the rank of captain general of the guards. This retrieved the credit of the Germans, who had fallen into disrepute since the disgrace of M. de Bulow. The latter, however, was not the less an object of minute and troublesome vigilance to the police. Bong.... caused him to be guarded by disguised soldiers: they surrounded the seat in Brunswick to which he had retired, and watched all his actions. From this excessive precaution, Bulow might have been taken for one who was capable of influencing the fate of Europe; but he could have exclaimed with reason, to the numberless spies who surrounded him, that he merited neither the honours which were first conferred nor subsequent indignities.

Having one day eluded the vigilance of his guards, he went to Magdeburg. The object of this excursion has never been discovered. The best of the business is that he had returned home before the chief of the police was aware of his absence. Com-

missaries, agents, and soldiers were well lectured on the occasion, and M. de Bulow really became a personage of importance, from the suspicion and uneasiness he excited in the Westphalian government.

The intendant L.... and his chaste wife very soon fell into complete disgrace. He was charged with depredations, disorders, and deficits in the management of his district; but he had not talents enough to be guilty. His secretary, who had the direction of affairs under him, managed so well, that he quitted Cassel with a good purse, leaving nothing to L.... but the disgrace attendant on his proceedings. L....departed from Cassel soon after, and returned to France, as great a simpleton and not a farthing richer than when he left it.

He was replaced by one Moul..., a person of no talent, but full of assurance when intrigues happened to be in question, excessive civility where pillage was concerned, and great complaisance towards a certain class of ladies. This poor appointment changed from Cha-

rybdis to Scylla. No one could tell from what quarter Moul... came; he was unknown; while many persons insisted that he must have descended from the moon. To increase his importance, this man had invented a tolerably good genealogy for himself; but he was, at last, discovered to be the son of a master mason at Marseilles, and said to have been driven from the paternal roof on account of his irregularities.

The affairs of Westphalia had never been conducted in so inefficient a manner; a Malch... for the finances, a Count de Hœ...for the war department, and a Moul.... for the civil list: this was more than enough to destroy public confidence and excite its ridicule; so that the evils only became daily greater and more apparent.

Discontent was now very general among the Germans: their chief source of annoyance arose from the impossibility of complaining of their misfortunes without embroiling themselves with the police. They

thought it very extraordinary indeed that, when their money was taken, they should be denied the privilege of grumbling.

Bong.... disliked commentators; a petty despot whose will was absolute, and whose repulsive manners paid but little regard to complaints, he filled the state prisons with persons who, for the most part, were only imprudent or indiscreet. It is a well authenticated fact that this man alone made more enemies to the government in one day than the seductions of an open enemy could have done in a year. The state inquisition became continually more insupportable from the abuse of authority in the subaltern agents of the police, whose zeal always surpassed that of their chief, while they were by no means impervious to bribery. These minions often made false representations to authorize rigorous measures, and interfered, according to their caprice or interest, with the tranquillity of the inhabitants. One of them, named M...ez, having been employed to

seize some English manufactures at Magdeburg, made the merchants pay contributions, and seized whatever they would not ransom. He gave rise to so many complaints, and occasioned such trouble by his rapacity, that the French governor was obliged to turn him out of the town.

The condition of the people could not be ameliorated under the direction of such men. The lower class of Germans, judging the French in general by the infamous conduct of a handful of wretches, placed them all on the same level; this rendered the situation of those who possessed good character and a disposition to act differently, in a very unpleasant predicament.

Malch..., who was always contriving expedients for a loan, chose such a moment for demanding it. The idea was a happy one; but there was no other alternative. It was necessary that Malch... should tread the path chalked out by his predecessor, Bulow, who; on his retreat, laughed heartily

at the embarrassment of his successor, and, without doubt, applauded himself for having left him so meagre an inheritance.

It was about this time that M. Pichon left his situation in the treasury, to take charge of the sinking fund*: he was replaced by the elder Malsbourg. This was a man of character and probity, though not more suited to his new office than M. Pichon; he had, however, a decision of manner towards those who, eager for rewards, accustom themselves to consider the treasures of the state as the personal property of the king, and he sometimes seasoned this firmness with irony. One day when the treasurer of the crown insisted on the grant of a tolerably large sum, alleging that it was indispensably necessary to satisfy the demands of the come-

* It may seem surprising that there should be a sinking fund in Westphalia: it did not, however, answer the purpose for which it was designed; viz. the payment of the national debt.

dians: "This is all very well, Sir," replied Malsbourg; "but ought I not to pay those "who *cry* before those who *sing?*"

The forced loan of the minister Malch... was only to be obtained by the sword; it excited universal indignation, and a unanimous burst of anathemas against its author; but he remained perfectly tranquil, nor did the affairs of state prevent him from looking to his own private interest. He contrived matters so well, that a few months found him lord and proprietor of the superb estate of Rett... near Hildesheim, by means of which he newly christened himself, and assumed the title of count. Unfortunately the Cossacks, a year after, annulled the contract of acquisition, and the titles of nobility of Monsieur le Comte de Rett..., who resumed his old epithet of fat John as before. *O! vanitas vanitatum!*

One of the most curious incidents of this period was the tragical death of General Mor... master of the horse. A farrier of the royal stables, thinking he had cause for complaint

against him, determined he should perish. Having concealed himself one day, when the general was examining the carriages of the king, he rushed from his hiding place, armed with two pistols, and fired one at the general, which mortally wounded him; he meant the other pistol for himself, but it missed fire. The assassin was a Frenchman; this circumstance was fortunate, for otherwise the police, ever on the watch, would have found materials for conjuring up a new conspiracy.

Mor..... survived his wounds but a few days. This favourite had neither great virtues nor great vices; he was one of those characters to whom kings often attach themselves without being able to assign any reason for their predilection. Jerome appeared deeply afflicted by his loss. Of all the favourites of the king, this man had the least cause to complain of the vicissitudes of fortune. His credit, at court, was excellent and had never been shaken. The king often made it appear that he could not do without him; this intimacy seemed the result of a

similarity and sympathy of character. His obsequies were magnificent, extraordinary splendour was displayed in his obsequies and the minister of justice, Simeon, the grave Simeon, was employed to pronounce the funeral oration. The assassin having been seized, was condemned and executed.

The pleasures of the court were not however interrupted by this dismal episode. Amongst the ladies of Cassel was a Madame Coll.... whose occupations were various. Although she was procuress to the nobles, lent money on pledges to gamesters, a dealer in millinery, toys, &c. she contrived, notwithstanding, to keep up a communication with the court, and sold shawls on credit to the ladies of the bed-chamber.

One of those shameless women, who are to be found in most continental cities, wished to dispose of her daughter, a young girl of fifteen. Jerome had seen, and admired her. The mother, as may be imagined, opposed herself with *ifs* and *buts* of every description: she

must have a pension for herself, her daughter, bribes for her relations and friends; a dower, a husband, and the lord knows what besides. The most able negotiators about the court had failed; all the Scapins were in despair; no one but the Count de Hœ... was capable of conducting this difficult affair. The glory of success was his alone. It was stipulated by the *minister of war* that a husband should be provided for the lady, a place for the husband, and, in addition to this, a marriage portion, also a sum of money for the mother and daughter. But the most arduous task yet remained unaccomplished, this was to find a husband who would willingly conduct the bride from the altar to the royal chamber, and yield up his right of priority. Such a one was to be found, doubt it not, gentle reader. Madame Coll....., whom we may justly call Mme. *la Ressource*, found one d'Esc..... who was employed in the post-office, and who willingly devoted himself to promote the pleasures of the king. The victim, ornamented with flowers, was silently

conducted to the sanctuary, and the convenient husband, having signed his dishonour, returned whence he came. The chamberlain Münchausen having thought proper to make remarks on this little adventure, found, one evening on his return home, a soldier with an order to conduct him to a regiment as a conscript. The chief of the police was the inventor of this piece of waggery; it was thought an excellent joke at court, and excited infinite laughter.

I do not exactly know what suggested to Jerome the idea of taking down the statues of the Landgraves, which ornamented the two principal squares in Cassel, it could only be traced to one of those mean courtiers who are devoid of every noble and generous feeling. Nor is it surprising that there should be found among them one capable of advising him to substitute his own statue. Be this as it may, these pieces of sculpture, which should have been respected as public monuments, were taken from their pedestals; but, as if the

persons employed in this cowardly act were ashamed of their work, they performed it during the obscurity of night.

Whether Jerome had really a building mania, or whether he chose to ape his brother Napoleon in every thing, is uncertain ; but he pulled down a part of the town of Cassel. German architects did not work rapidly enough to satisfy him, he therefore summoned M. Grandjean from Paris, who would have transformed the royal city into another Babylon, if the resources of the treasury could have been found to correspond with his activity, and the vast conceptions of his genius. He built a hall for the States, and repaired the old palace ; a large square was thrown open on one side, and made to close with iron gates, like those of the Tuileries. The workmen often destroyed in the evening the work they had done in the morning, because the king having given his orders, perceived, when the job was completed, that it was in bad taste. He was in the habit of saying : " I will have

" this done to-night. I expect that to be " finished by to-morrow morning." Four or five hundred workmen toiled during the night by the light of flambeaux to execute the supreme commands. Contractors and architects found their account in the childish vanities and unmeaning caprice of his majesty. These were even encouraged by their punctual and servile obedience. In one night all the iron railings round the palace were taken down, because the king thought them too high; those persons who passed by every day, not seeing them in the morning, fancied their sight had become dim, and rubbed their eyes to look again. These pasquinades, which were not quite in the German taste, would have been amusing had they cost less.

CHAPTER IX.

Police of the Prince of Eckmuhl at Hamburgh.—Political Intrigues of the Malcontents in Westphalia.—Sanguinary Scenes at Brunswick.—Hostile Measures of the French Troops.—Conduct of General Ochs.—Subterfuges of the Wesphalian Police.—Prisons of State.—Receptacle for the Condemned.—Hammerstein, the King's Favourite.—Journey of the Court to Hartz and Göttingen.

The disturbed state of the public mind, in Westphalia, was, as already stated, occasioned in a great measure by the folly of ministers; but it was likewise to be attributed to other causes.

The Prince of Eckmuhl had also his police at Hamburgh: his arbitrary system extended not only to Westphalia, but likewise to the north of Germany. The police was organized in the style of the King of Morocco and the Dey of Algiers, and improved on by the mysterious proceedings which usually characterize military despotism.

An individual was sometimes taken away from his family and friends in the middle of the night, and lodged in some distant fortress, where he remained five or six months, ignorant of the motive that led to his arrest, while his fate was unknown to every one. Of all the marshals and generals of France, the Prince of Eckmuhl was the most dreaded by the Germans, in whom he inspired a species of horror. Informed precisely of all that was passing, it was frequently through his means that the Westphalian police obtained the most useful intelligence.

Towards the commencement of the year 1811, he gave information of several new plots which were forming in the neighbourhood of Brunswick, and which threatened the public tranquillity; but, according to custom, Bong... took his measures so injudiciously that the peaceable citizens alone were tormented. Davoust, informed of these particulars, signified to the court of Cassel that if better plans were not pursued, he should himself come

to superintend the police. In the mean time, he caused the spies and their assistants to be arrested, and strictly confined in the citadel of Magdeburg, of which he had made a sort of Bastile. A Baron de Sa.... of Saxon origin, who was recruting a band of ruffians to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon, was also arrested by his order. The Baron disappeared, and no one knew what had become of him, until he was found in the dungeons of Vincennes, in 1814. These examples of severity did not prevent the malecontents, and they were not few in number, from swelling the ranks of opposition in every direction.

The Count de Schulemburg-Wolfsburg, who resided on his estates near Brunswick, was supposed to be at their head; but this nobleman, in consideration of the influence he exercised in the country, required to be treated with caution. As the meetings were never held at his house, nothing could be brought forward against him. Besides this, the correspondence between the initiated lea-

ders was intrusted to confidential messengers. It was impossible to penetrate to the bottom of these secret and mysterious plots. It is pretended that, in order to make the scene more striking, he invited the commissary general of police to dinner, whenever he proposed to hold communications with the conductors of these intrigues.

It is certain that the people were excited to provocations against the French, and that all methods were tried to ensnare the soldiers of both nations.

A citizen of Brunswick, having surprised a captain of the French cuirassiers in criminal intercourse with his wife, blew out his brains on the spot. The Westphalian government was disposed to be indulgent towards the injured husband, but the Prince of Eckmuhl required that he should be delivered up to justice and punished. Some time after this, the soldiers of the second Westphalian regiment, paid by invisible hands, and excited by the inhabitants, attacked a regiment of French

cuirassiers at several inns of Brunswick; a few partial skirmishes took place, and was followed by a general battle; the two regiments met, and the consequence was that thirty men were killed of both parties.

This event, greatly exaggerated to the prince of Eckmuhl, excited his utmost rage. He fancied all Westphalia in a flame, and dispatched general Saint Germain thither with four or five thousand men and some cannon. He was ordered to quarter the troops at discretion among the inhabitants, take hostages, and cause the refractory to be tried by a military commission; in other words, to have them shot. This officer was also to demand satisfaction of the court of Cassel in the name of the Emperor.

Order was already restored when Saint Germain arrived. He thought, nevertheless, that it would be right to obey his instructions, and enter the town as an enemy. Accordingly the troops bivouacked in the public squares while the cannon were planted in the streets,

and a general disarming took place; the Westphalian officers, by special leave, were allowed to retain their swords; but this indulgence did not extend to the civil authorities. The guilty were next sought for. Several citizens were arrested on vague suspicion, and sent to Wesel; and some Westphalian soldiers were ordered to be tried. French and Westphalian blood had alike flowed, but victims were necessary, and imperiously demanded. Jerome was obliged to yield to the higher powers and existing circumstances. The court of Cassel sent general Ochs to Brunswick, to hasten, in conjunction with the French general, the punishment of the revolted. Unfortunately the true culprits remained behind the curtain, no one traced them, and three or four poor Westphalian soldiers were shot without scarcely knowing of what they were accused.

Any other man than Ochs would have endeavoured to save these men, but this general, habituated to the degrading obedience of slaves,

gave them up to trial, which was a mere form; for he had been previously instructed to condemn them.

General Ochs, as heavy as the animal whose name he bears,* passed a great part of his life in the subordinate ranks of an army which had been disciplined with bludgeons, and did not therefore conceive it possible to modify or soften a rigourous order. He had been commanded to shoot four Westphalian soldiers, and that was sufficient. It is probable, that in his anxiety to fulfil the letter of his instructions, he assisted personally in the work.

The Elector of Hesse, a rare judge of merit, on re-entering his states, restored the general of division, Ochs, to the rank of lieutenant general; upon which he resumed his cue of eighteen inches long, and went as ambassador to St. Petersburgh!

The situation of this German prince is very singular. Stationary amidst the general impulse which animates the people of Europe,

* i. e. an Ox.

he still preserves the title of Elector; as if completely ignorant of passing events. Neither the ideas, which are called liberal, the representative or rather delegative system as M. de la Borde designates it, much less those improvements claimed by the spirit of the age, have found an asylum in Hesse, which appears destined to remain a stranger to the rest of Europe during the life of its present elector.

The Prince of Eckmulh visited Brunswick shortly after, to ascertain himself the state of affairs. It is imagined he knew the leaders of the conspiracy; but, for political reasons, he did not choose to unmask them. The mayor of Brunswick, M. de Münchausen, was ordered to meet the prince on his road near Richmond; and as this brave man perceived an escort of troops in the distance, he fancied he was to be conducted to some citadel. Perhaps his conscience smote him and occasioned this alarm. He was dismissed with a public admonition from the prince, to which he listened with the confused air of a prisoner who

awaits his doom. The prefect of Henneberg was deposed by the court of Cassel, and was said to have died of grief in consequence: it was a curious fact that, on the very morning after his death, Jerome appointed him a minister of state.

At this time several officers in the Hessian and Brunswick service, disguised as waggoners, were seized. They were found, in several parts of the kingdom, driving carts laden with muskets and accoutrements; but these discoveries, though they more strongly confirmed the existence of a plot, never unveiled the leaders of it.

In politics there ought to be neither friendship nor hatred; those who govern have duties to fulfil towards the people, and the first of these is to afford justice, safety, and protection to every one. Weak governments are timid and mistrustful; far from protecting public safety, they make war against the affection and personal security of their subjects; the more they attempt to suppress opi-

nions, the more enemies they make for themselves, and the sooner their power terminates; this was precisely the case in Westphalia.

A troublesome and meddling police was always imprisoning, at random, individuals, who, for the most part, had neither credit nor connexion to influence the affairs of state. Their tyrannical measures were greatly forwarded by a fictitious Baron de Kollé who has subsequently acted a prominent part in France, and was substituted by Fouché for the real Baron de Kolli, to sustain the character of liberator to Ferdinand VII at Valençay.

The castle at Cassel was always made use of by Jerome as a state prison. This species of Bastile is situated on the right bank of the Fulda, at a short distance from the old royal palace, from which it is only divided by the river. The dungeon and cells were repaired by orders of Bong.... chief of police, who, in this part of his administration, claims a few remarks.—The castle was enlarged for

the reception of new inhabitants, and no precautions were spared to render the abode worthy of its destination.—The appearance of the gratings, bolts, draw-bridges and figures, which guarded the entrance rendered the horrors of captivity there more appalling. The inscription which Dante has placed over the gates of Hell might have been engraved on the door with singular propriety.

Let those who enter here abandon hope!

The greatest extortions were practised on the prisoners by their gaolers, and inferior agents of Bong....'s inquisitorial tyranny. These wretches understood their business; for they had studied in a good school.

Nothing could be worse than the diet in the prisons of Westphalia. The keepers had much difficulty in obtaining their allowances for the maintenance of the prisoners; many, who were obliged to feed them at their own cost, suffered them to be in want of the mere necessaries of bread and straw: woe to him who had no money!—Complaints were inef-

fectual. Besides, a certain class of prisoners would have petitioned in vain, and their only answer, more rigorous treatment or the dungeon. The police was jealous even of the air they breathed; and, during the latter part of the time they were confined in the castle, Bong..... had formed the project of inclosing the place in which they walked with iron railings; they would then indeed have been in a cage. This invention surpassed the fertile imagination of Tiberius.

There were in Westphalia several stations for deserters, condemned to hard labour; they all exhibited the most hideous pictures of oppression and human misery. Instead of employing these poor creatures in the public works, they were left to linger and perish in their cells, sinking under the double weight of idleness and complete want. Notwithstanding the strong representations of some of the more humane functionaries, the state of these poor wretches was never considered. The greater part of them arrived almost naked, with no other covering than a few rags and their chains;

the public, however, paid for their cloathing, but the money was squandered by the agents of government. The allowance for food of fifteen centimes a day,* was insufficient to sustain existence; besides as the gaolers and turnkeys were the exclusive purveyors of provisions, they appropriated a great part of this sum to their own use. The chief of the war division D...., when he sent any of his creatures to fill these places, never failed to boast of his patronage; adding, that he gave them situations "in which there was money to be got."

Those criminals, who were not assisted by their families, were sometimes reduced to such a state of hunger, that they eagerly devoured the most disgusting food. Shut up every night in a kind of cell, without straw or covering, they were huddled together, for want of room, for fifteen or twenty hours, and contracted infectious disorders from

* About three half-pence.

the unwholesome exhalations of these pestilential places. Many were found suffocated when the doors of their living sepulchres were opened. The torture of this captivity, worse than death itself, but too strongly accused an inhuman and odious system formed by the folly, malice and cupidity of a handful of brigands, whose disgraceful opulence was built on the ruins of social order.

Owing to this nefarious mode of governing, the name of the king and that of a Frenchman soon became detestable. The kingdom of Westphalia was transformed into a dwelling hung with black, in which the prince could distinguish neither his friends nor his enemies. By an inexplicable accident, General Hammerstein succeeded to the place of General Mor...., and became first aid-de-camp. Hammerstein was a Hanoverian, he had faithfully served, it is true, but allied to families who maintained a correspondence with the enemies of the interior, and who expected from them favours, employments and pensions,

it was not prudent to depend on his solidity or attachment; for the chances of politics were his thermometer, as subsequent events fully proved.

The court, at this time, made a journey to the mines of Hartz; where the king and queen descended into the silver mines of Dorothea Carlotta, near Clausthal; they habited themselves according to custom in the dress of miners, and pronounced the famous *Glück auf!* the usual salutation. These simple and rustic people, insulated in their mountains, and strangers to the influence of revolutions, received their sovereigns with frankness and cordiality. They struck medals destined to perpetuate the remembrance of this illustrious visit, and distributed them equally among the persons composing the suite and the public functionaries.

Jerome afterwards went to Göttingen; his object was to encourage the arts, and to judge for himself of the disposition of the students who were always a turbulent set; there existed among them, both a martial and inde-

pendent spirit; in 1806, the students of Halle took up arms against the victorious French army; and in 1813, they served in the Landwehr as volunteers. On this as well as several other accounts, they deserved the attention of government.

Of all the universities in the north of Germany that of Göttingen is the most learned and illustrious. The crowd of students who frequent it form an epitome of the universe, and occasion a considerable importation of foreign residents. The pupils, whether rich or poor, are only distinguished among themselves by their merit, and those travellers, who come from all corners of the world, submit with pleasure to an equality which superiority of talent alone can alter.

Intellectual, as well as practical education, has attained the highest degree of perfection in Germany; and it is surprising, that in a country where knowledge is so widely disseminated, and where so many distinguished

men are to be found, there should be so little energy in the national character, and so much apathy in the application of acquired learning: it is because governments are the real teachers of the people, and professors, however clever they may be, cannot form citizens, warriors, or statesmen.

Another great error in Westphalia, was the want of respect shewn to the privileges of the universities. They, as well as the clergy possessed property; and had their peculiar jurisdictions. Why, therefore, was not the noble feeling which gave independence and liberty to the establishments of public education, duly considered? Why, among the former professors of Göttingen, then counsellors of state in Westphalia, was there no one found who would have raised his voice in support of these privileges? From the time they were abolished, the university of Halle, till then so flourishing, became a perfect desart; and that town, previously so prosperous, was peopled with beggars. Göttingen alone supported it-

self against such vicissitudes, and though the number of its students was less considerable than formerly, it still maintained its supremacy.

During his stay in that city, Jerome restored a part of its endowments, and privileges, which gained him great applause. He bestowed favours on the most distinguished professors, praised their labours, encouraged their efforts, and visited the establishments; these trifling proofs of condescension excited the enthusiasm of all classes: so true it is, that kings have but little to do in order to make themselves beloved.

CHAPTER X.

Russian War.—The King of Westphalia and his Army march into Poland.—Westphalian Generals.—Proclamation.—Military Operations.—The King suffers the Russian Regiment of Prince Bagration to escape.—He relinquishes the Command.—His stay at Neundorff.—Council of State.—Anecdote.

A YEAR had scarcely elapsed since the epoch which seemed to have placed the glory of Napoleon at its height; nothing was wanting to his power and prosperity. He reigned without opposition over the whole of Europe, when new and frequent re-unions of states, which had hitherto maintained a sort of independence, awakened the uneasiness of the powers, and led the way to a fatal re-action in the north. Bremen, Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Oldenburgh incorporated almost at the same time with the Empire, was a kind of prelude to the dreadful war with Russia. Four hundred thousand men marched against

that Empire; and whatever may be said to the contrary, the princes of the Rhenish confederation freely concurred to promote the annihilation of this power, which the elements alone preserved from the abyss that yawned beneath it. In this circumstance, as in all preceding ones, they rivalled each other in their ardour to obey the ruler of Europe. The immense sacrifices they had made in former wars, far from diminishing their zeal, seemed only to increase it at the above crisis; and their partisans flocked from all quarters round the eagles of France. Did they hope, as generally happens, to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the vanquished? Or, considering this war as the last on the continent, did they zealously concur to ensure its success? Each power had doubtless its motives and secret springs of action; but the troops marched, and Napoleon considered that, as the only essential point to promote the accomplishment of his plans.

The King of Westphalia had already four

thousand troops who formed a part of the garrison of Dantzic; they had been sent there six months before by command of the French government.

The army, at the head of which Jerome marched on this memorable occasion, presented a body of eighteen thousand men, exclusive of those remaining at the dépôts in the interior of the kingdom. The troops, well disciplined and having a martial appearance, followed him with confidence, because they anticipated easy victories in Russia; this opinion was unanimous in the French army and amongst the allies; the truth of this assertion cannot be denied, by any person acquainted with the real state of affairs. The Westphalian cavalry was the finest and best of any in the allied armies; the artillery, commanded by general Allix, was extremely well mounted and under the direction of officers who possessed the greatest merit.

The organization of this army had been to Westphalia like the notes of the swan,

and the last effort of its financial resources. It would have proved ruinous, even had the situation of the country been more prosperous. What then must it have done when it became so physically impossible to claim more from a people already sinking under the weight of taxes and loans? It was necessary to negotiate the sale of several secularized domains, to throw them into the hands of Jews and usurers, in order to obtain supplies; this was the only resource which remained to enable government to fit out eighteen thousand men for a campaign, and indeed no other means were attempted.

The king and his army marched, through Saxony and Silesia, into Poland. The asiatic pomp, exhibited on the plains of Leipsic, in 1809, when the army was led on by an effeminate courtier, was no longer seen. In this case, there was a body of troops animated by the bravest spirit, and submitting to that exact discipline which may be considered the sure presage of success in war or in peace. This

seemed the effect of miracle or enchantment; for no one, till now, had assumed the active duties of command. The honour is perhaps due to the colonels, most of whom were excellent officers. It is true, the king gave a good example. His suite was not now augmented by comedians, women, chamberlains, or carriages; one of his favourites alone had a situation in the army, this was Hammerstein; and forty or fifty horses carried his baggage. Besides Hammerstein and Allix, the generals Damas, Zandt, and Ochs commanded the troops. The three first were distinguished officers; Hammerstein was merely a grenadier; as to Ochs, a sketch of his character and station in life has been already given. Jerome nevertheless made him major general; Ochs, who would have made a good captain of light infantry, had once served in that capacity. He was tolerably well versed in the manœuvring practised by the generals of the american war; but he had no experience of tactics on a grand scale, or in the present

military system of Europe. Raised to the rank of general of division, and captain general of the guards by one of those caprices of fortune, so common in Westphalia, he thought, as many other persons think, that he possessed great talents. But neither labour, nor presumption can create qualities denied by nature. People are generals as they are painters or poets, that is to say, by the inspiration of genius. The blame here falls entirely on Jerome, who had the mania of bestowing important posts on individuals who were deprived of the faculties necessary for the fulfilment of their duties. It was said that Ochs had experience, and that he had risen from the ranks; the names of great generals, under whom he had served were cited; but as Marshal Saxe says: "An ass who had served twenty campaigns "under Cæsar, would always be an ass." The same may be remarked of those who grow old in the routine of parades, and guard mounting

The management of the Westphalian army

exceeded in irregularity, any thing that could be well conceived in that way, furthermore, it was completely useless from the manner in which the war was conducted, since the soldiers lived at the expense of the inhabitants of the places where they were stationed. A certain chief of division was made a surveyor general; his good friend, Count de H...., thrust him into this place. After him came all the peculators, who, greedy for carnage, followed the soldiers as birds of prey follow a corpse. These, as well as their chief, intended to enrich themselves with the spoils of Russia; but their expectations were cruelly disappointed.

While the Westphalian army was gaining possession of Poland, the conferences at Dresden removed all difficulties by the co-operation of the Prussian and Austrian armies. Napoleon received those sovereigns as allies and friends against whom he had fought twenty years, and whose troops were now to march under his banners.

This extraordinary man, who so long held the fate of nations in his hands, disdained magnificence in his own person, but approved of it in others. In this respect he was like Charles the XII, Peter the Great, and Frederick of Prussia, who, in their day, had imitated Alexander and Cæsar. It was wisely said that there is nothing new under the sun: in all ages the same means have been adopted for the subjugation of poor human nature. The splendour which the suite of the French Emperor and Empress displayed at Dresden is incredible, and contrasted curiously with the extreme simplicity of him, who led four hundred thousand soldiers to the conquest of Russia.

The month of May and June passed in an exchange of couriers with the Emperor Alexander. Troops from all quarters arrived on the Niemen. Eblé constructed bridges over this river to facilitate their passage. Napoleon appeared at Goubingen in the beginning of June, having quitted Dresden the 29th of

May 1812. Thence he dispatched new proposals to his adversary, whose head quarters were at Wilna. He required that Alexander should recede from his *ultimatum*, which comprised not the total evacuation of Germany, as some persons have supposed, but that of Prussia as far as the Elbe.

Alexander having positively refused to enter into any farther explanations, Napoleon merely observed: "The vanquished assume "the tone of conquerors." All the allied army crossed the Niemen, when that celebrated proclamation, valuable as an historical document, and important as a monument attesting the instability of human grandeur, appeared:

"Soldiers, the second war of Poland has commenced. The first terminated at Friedland and at Tilsit; where Russia vowed an eternal alliance with France and war with England; she violates her oaths, and will give no other explanation of her strange conduct than that the French eagles have not re-crossed

the Rhine, thus leaving our allies to her mercy. Russia is led on by a fatality, and her destiny must be accomplished. Does she then think us degenerate? Are we no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She gives us the choice of dishonour or war: our decision cannot be doubtful. Let us march then; let us pass the Niemen and carry war into her territories. The second Polish war will be as glorious to the French arms as the first; but the peace, we shall conclude, will carry with it a sure guarantee, and put an end to the proud influence that Russia has for twenty years exercised over the affairs of Europe.

"From our head-quarters at Wilkowizky, the 22nd of June, 1812."

This address must have appeared very singular after the catastrophe which terminated the campaign. It was not so, however, when the conqueror, like another Xerxes, thought he was marching to the conquest of the universe, preceded by innumerable and invincible legions. Napoleon was more correct when

he afterwards said to the Abbé de Pradt: "From the sublime to the ridiculous there "is but one step!"

His first fault was, no doubt, that of leaving Poland without having re-established the integral independence of that country; all the others were but the results of this. It is true, that he had many inducements to trust to fortune, perhaps he relied too much on her good graces; but for this precise reason he often succeeded where others would have failed. The fate of the world hung upon a thread at Moscow, and that thread was snapped in the hands of Napoleon.

While the French army proceeded towards the Dwina, Jerome, who had united his troops to the fifth and seventh divisions, advanced towards Grodno, forming, with about forty thousand men, the extreme right of that immense line which covered, in front of the enemy, a space of nearly a hundred and fifty leagues. As he found himself opposed to the Russian corps of Doctorow and Bagration, his ob-

ject was to pierce through the enemy's line; and to prevent these two corps from joining the great Russian army, forming, at this time, intrenched camps beyond the Dwina.

On the 15th of July, 1812, the Prince of Eckmuhl, wishing to strengthen this movement, posted himself on the Beresina, and Jerome at Aisry. Bragation, with forty thousand men had quitted his cantonments at Wolhynia on the 30th of June, to effect the proposed junction. He could gain his point by forcing a march, or by cutting his way sword in hand; but to effect this, it was necessary to attack the Prince of Eckmuhl and Jerome separately. Not arriving at Mohilow till the 4th of August, he found the former prepared to receive him; fortunately he was alone. Bagration fought a desperate battle to force his passage, and was repulsed, with great loss, on every side. In this extremity, he suddenly altered his intended route, passed to Smolensko through Matislaw, and stealing several night marches on Jerome,

effected his junction with the grand Russian army.

This unfortunate event had a great influence on the success of the campaign; the plan of operations was consequently changed; several projects were relinquished, and a considerable re-inforcement thereby afforded to the Russians. Napoleon much disconcerted, reprimanded Eckmuhl, who threw the blame on King Jerome, whom he accused of not seconding him. Angry and unpleasant discussions took place between the parties, in consequence of which Jerome, feeling his regal dignity compromised, withdrew himself from the army and returned to his states. Bagration marched too quickly, or Jerome too slowly; certain it is that he escaped; and if this mistake is to be attributed to the arrangements of the chief of his staff, Ochs, it does not give a very high idea of his military talents. Thus then terminated the part of the King of Westphalia in this celebrated and unfortunate expedition.

Jerome arrived at Cassel at the end of August, and went to conceal his mortification at Neundorff, where he shut himself up with his principal favourites. Furst..., Hammerstein, Bon .... and some females of the court; tried to dissipate his chagrin by a series of different amusements. Madame de Bon .... is said to have contributed powerfully to this object, by crowning with myrtle the royal brow which could not claim the laurel. At Cassel affairs assumed their usual aspect; and while the fate of empires depended on the field of Moskwa, the courtiers of Westphalia, faithful to their principles of frivolity, very seriously occupied themselves with balls and plays.

The acts of government were now more than ever stamped with that spirit of folly, which is the certain harbinger of sinking states. D...., who returned from the army with the king, was made a minister of state, and intendant general of the treasury, in place of the respectable Malsbourg. This extraordinary nomi-

nation was the very essence of those of which Cassel had so often been the theatre.

Many persons then learned to their cost that a government may allow itself every liberty till it has fulfilled the measure of its iniquities; and that, under the degrading empire of folly, nothing is to be done but to suffer and be silent. Neither French nor Germans dared to raise their voices against the abomination of the Westphalian Sodom; this cowardly silence was qualified by the reflection, that it is always dangerous during the lives of persons, sprung from obscurity, to dissect their characters, particularly when they have the power of sending their commentators to a prison.

The council of state was nothing more than a bear garden, in which the members talked nonsense when they were not dozing. Some men of acknowledged merit adhered to truth; but in contra-distinction to Dohm, Martins, Phiseldeck, and Leis, there were many such as Mal..., D..., de Conn..., and de Würtz..., ignorant men, and cringing flatterers, who ap-

plauded follies with a disgusting meanness, and who would read their recantation twenty times a day for a place or a ribbon. The respectable M. de Dohm was removed; he was honourably exiled to Dresden in quality of diplomatic agent; hence the importance of Westphalian diplomacy may be readily imagined. He continued absent from Cassel till the dissolution of the kingdom; Martens did not re-enter the council till the kingdom was at the last extremity; Phiseldeck retired a few months after his admission, and Pichon returned to France. Men of a less servile character were removed from the management of affairs, by being employed on what they called extraordinary service. By means of this species of ostracism, there remained in the council only the opinions of slaves, flatterers, fools, and rogues; and it may well be imagined that these opinions never opposed that of the master.

Those Princes, we repeat it, are to be pitied, who have the misfortune to be so unworthily

surrounded, and who are not themselves devoid of capacity or moral qualities. Jerome, though too young to have acquired much experience of men and affairs, possessed in an eminent degree, what constitutes generous and magnanimous sovereigns. His heart is good and his character naturally leads him to be indulgent.

This will be best illustrated by the following anecdote. One day, while Jerome was reviewing the dépôt of the first regiment of the line, in the court of the palace at Brunswick, dissatisfied at seeing the troops execute their manœuvres in the German method, he lectured the officers, and reproved the major who commanded the regiment so severely, that the latter thinking himself dishonoured, uttered some very violent expressions by way of remonstrance; upon which, all who were present, thought his ruin certain; but the king immediately perceiving his error; called the officer to him, and with the greatest mildness entered into a conversation, which lasted above

half an hour; proved that he also knew the profession of a soldier; and on taking his leave of the major, gave him an additional step in the army.

It is doubtless true that sovereigns are accountable to posterity for the errors, faults, or crimes of their ministers and favourites; for on them alone rests the hatred of the people when it is incurred; over their heads is suspended the formidable weight of public opinion: like the sword of Damocles, it warns them unceasingly of their duties and of the terrible responsibility attached to the failure of their sacred obligations.

CHAPTER XI.

Conduct of the Westphalian Troops in Russia.—Retreat from Moscow.—Anecdotes of this Retreat.—Aspect of Germany and Westphalia after the Catastrophe.—Miserable State of the French Army.—Folly of the Wesphalian Ministry.—Revolution in Prussia.—Plans of Defence in Westphalia.—The Palace at Cassel is burnt.—Discontents of the Westphalian Army.—Faults and Errors of the Government.—Napoleon gains a Victory at Lutzen.—Armistice and Negotiation at Dresden.—Conversation of Jerome and Napoleon.

After the departure of the King of Westphalia, the French and allied armies continued to advance into the heart of Russia. The Duke of Abrantes (Junot) took the command of the Westphalian army. This general, as much celebrated for his bravery as for his military talents, was not acquainted with the character of the German soldiers; and was deficient in that patience and coolness so necessary for their management. He scolded some, ill treated

others, and finally made himself detested by all.

The Westphalian troops performed miracles at Moskwa. The cavalry, placed in reserve during this battle, acquired a large share of glory, by often and efficaciously succouring the active regiments. General Grouchy, who was then thought to be an excellent cavalry officer, spoke of them with enthusiasm, The Westphalians lost, in this battle, many valuable officers and the best of their soldiers. General Damas, and the colonels Herzberg and Gilsa were killed in the onset.

The troops of the King did not enter Moscow, though every other regiment had, in its turn, the wretched privilege of plundering the smoking ruins; it is not known why the Westphalian soldiers were denied a part of the booty.

The retreat commenced the 12th of October. It is a well authenticated fact, that order was preserved till the troops reached Smolensko; but from that town to the Beresina, and thence to Wilna, the confusion was horrible. Europe

heard of the destruction of this fine army, the desarts knew the rest. A few Germans escaped from death, and after many sufferings, reached Westphalia. General Allix was only saved by a miracle: dismounted at Smolensko, he had marched more than a hundred leagues on foot, when he met, by accident his colleague General Ochs, in the universal dismay. This man, enveloped in furs, was drawn in a miserable sledge of which he had taken possession. Allix now thinks himself saved; exhausted by so long and painful a march, he supplicatingly entreats a place in the crazy vehicle, but the hard hearted Ochs refuses this favour to his companion in arms; and only hastens his flight. Allix did not lose his courage; notwithstanding his state of exhaustion, he reached the formidable points of the Beresina, had the good fortune to cross them, and proceeded on foot to Wilna.

Eblé was one of the victims of this dreadful retreat. He had succeeded, by dint of labour and boldness, in constructing the three

bridges over the Beresina, which, in consequence of the confusion, were at once the grave and the salvation of the army. This general was soon after seized with a complaint in the chest of which he died.

In traversing Wilna those unfortunate persons, who had escaped from so many perils, found new dangers awaiting them; they were attacked by the Jews. These wretches massacred the military to whom they had proffered a perfidious hospitality, and took away the little gold they yet possessed. So many different nations, mixed and confounded, flying from an exasperated populace, who seconded the ferocity of the Cossacks, presented an emblem of the utmost disorder, and in all other respects the most dreadful scene imaginable.

The first intelligence of this great event produced little effect on the public mind in Westphalia. It might well have surprised them after former victories, but not a word was said. It is true that the French authorities took care to keep the Germans in profound ignorance

of the real state of affairs. Merely vague notions were entertained; and though the twenty-ninth bulletin imprudently raised the veil, the calm continued. A change, however, appeared in the feelings of the people. The above calmness was the mere effect of that stupor and astonishment which is always felt in the first moments of an unexpected catastrophe.

It was not so in Prussia; Yorck had deserted the ranks of the Duke of Tarentum, and, with the fifteen thousand Prussians under his command, had joined the Russian army; the Prussians, better informed respecting our losses, suddenly recovered their energy, and from allies became enemies. The Prussian monarchy exhibited, in all parts of its territory, the most violent symptoms of fermentation. Nevertheless, the government, true to its old and temporizing system of politics, did not declare itself; Yorck was even proclaimed a traitor and a rebel. The cabinet of the Tuileries was not to be ca-

joled by these demonstrations. When the Prussians quitted the French ranks, we knew what dependance to place on their future alliance.

The slowness with which the Russian army marched, greatly favoured the cause of the French in Germany, by keeping the public mind in a state of apathetic indecision. There was not a soldier to oppose to the Russian army between the Oder and the Rhine. If the Russians had chosen to hasten their march, they might have arrived at Mayence, and perhaps at Paris, without any obstacle. Happily the enemy was harrassed and scarcely aware of his successes.

Forty thousand Frenchmen, the sole remains of the finest and bravest army in the world, did not rally, in the full sense of the word, till they had passed the Elbe. All the regiments were broken and disarmed; officers and soldiers were in want of absolute necessaries, and nothing had been prepared to receive them. They crowded particularly

to Westphalia, the place in all Germany most destitute of resources. Besides, the Germans occupied themselves, in preference, with their own countrymen, whose situation was not less deplorable than that of the French.

The arrival of these wretched beings in Germany may be considered, perhaps, as the third episode in the grand disaster of Russia, and this was probably not the least terrible of the three. Let the reader figure to himself these men escaped from the ravages of the elements, the enemy's fire, and from famine, marching solitarily, without clothing, their heads and feet wrapped in rags ; the rest of their bodies covered with tatters, straw, or the skins of newly slain animals ; and but a feeble notion can be formed of the appalling aspect of that army so full of ardour and health a few months before! These unfortunate men, blackened by smoke, covered with dirt, reduced by sickness, and devoured by vermine, wandered in the roads of Westphalia like spectres newly issued from their

sepulchres. They cast their dying looks on those places they had traversed as conquerors, invoking, in a feeble voice, public commiseration. Some had entirely lost the faculty of speech, others appeared plunged in stupor and insensibility: all prayed for death as a release. Physically as well as morally affected, they sometimes died suddenly, after receiving nourishment, having no strength to support the food offered by a charitable hand.

The ministry of Westphalia was never more despicable and barbarous than under the present melancholy circumstances. For the honour of King Jerome, it must be supposed, that, as he did not see in his capital the victims who encumbered his kingdom, he was ignorant of their wretched situation.

Neither representations nor menaces could induce the indolent Count de Hœ.... to establish hospitals for their reception. It was necessary to lodge them with the inhabitants, and, as the rich would not harbour them, they filled the cabins of the poor. In these, the

family of a tradseman were seen living in the same atmosphere with individuals suffering from pestilential complaints, shut up in a small space, sharing the bread of affliction, and participating in their miseries. Unable to contribute assistance to fifteen or twenty dying and infected soldiers, who occupied his chamber, the inhabitant frequently deserted his house, that he might not fall a sacrifice to the epidemy, which was spreading among the peasants with frightful rapidity.

While these scenes were exhibiting in the interior of Westphalia, the Cossacks, guided by the Prussians, pursued the French as far as Berlin, where Marshal Augereau was nearly made prisoner. The King of Prussia had fled to Breslaw; he had now decidedly declared war against France; all Prussia was in arms to join the Russians. Tettenborn took possession of Hamburgh; he was received there with open arms: this Russian officer had, for his second in command, the same Dörnberg

who formerly served in the guards of Jerome, but who, as stated in a former chapter, joined the insurgents of Hesse in 1809.

Eugene Beauharnais, the Prince of Eckmuhl, Sebastiani, and Vandamme, had however succeeded in re-uniting some feeble regiments, with which they endeavoured to make an appearance, on the banks of the Elbe. Happily, they were not attacked; it seemed as though the enemy were astonished at having repulsed the French eagles, and could not recover from their surprise. There was no cavalry; horses were every where levied, and men placed on them who were ignorant of their management. All seemed to announce that Westphalia would not be the scene of the new struggle which each party was preparing. The enemies led their principal forces to Saxony where the fates were again to decide the balance.

Napoleon, as of by magic, raised a new army in France, and had prepared once more to act on the offensive. On their part, the

princes of the confederation repaired their disasters as well as they could. The name of the Emperor was a talismen worth whole armies; at his voice they seemed to rise from the earth. He had lost all, and yet in a moment after, he again put Europe in motion!

Westphalia sold her last possessions to reorganize a few regiments. Jerome had lost his old palace at Cassel by fire; a rich citizen became a prey to the flames, he himself escaped with difficulty. The Germans said that the fumigating stoves he had sent for from France, occasioned the accident. The fire was first discovered in the apartments of the Grand Marshal Count de Wellingerode, and communicated rapidly to the other parts of the building; the cause remained unknown.

The credit of this favourite had declined: it seemed to diminish as that of Hammerstein augmented. This event led to his complete disgrace. He returned to France and died shortly afterwards.

The fire might have been the effect of acci-

dent, though it is not improbable, malice had a share in it, particularly when the epoch, place, and time it happened are considered. The police of Bong . . . . was not more successful in this instance than in many others; nothing was discovered. However, to compensate for this ignorance, it was known that B..... frequently visited Madame H.... and that the gallant, surprised by the husband, had been obliged to jump out of the window.

The German troops recruited with great difficulty, because the conscripts would not march, and were encouraged in their resistance by the enemies who overran the country. The Saxon, Colonel Thielman, who had entered the Russian service, annoyed Westphalia on the Hartz side, and General Walmoden, posted on the Lower-Elbe, sent his scouts even to the gates of Brunswick, Luneburg, and Hanover. Jerome could not depend on his troops, and he had but a handful of Frenchmen to defend his kingdom.

This state of affairs kept the people in con-

tinual uneasiness, and prevented the government from acting. Those who were liable to contributions refused to pay; the public functionaries became remiss; the soldiers were disheartened; ministers sleept; the King amused himself, and every thing seemed paralyzed. An officer was often left to command in a town alone, the enemy came and ravaged it, and the officer was expected to resist! Colonel Mauvillion, commander of Heiligenstadt, and several others were dismissed on similar pretences; but nothing absurd was surprising on the part of the minister whom the King had unfortunately chosen. The favourites and slaves of Cassel had contracted such habits of servility, that they dared not frankly speak truth to their master. They addressed the King in those equivocal phrases which are confined to the atmosphere of a court, and wrapping themselves up in a mysterious garb of politeness, concealed the serpent under flowers.

A small portion of the cavalry were re-

mounted; the rest of the troops, encamped before Cassel, were exercised incessantly. Some agents of the enemy endeavoured to enlist the soldiers, among whom there already existed a spirit of discontent. It was hoped that, by retaining them near the capital, and under orders, they might be preserved from corruption; but that was impossible. These men had relations and friends amongst the bands of partisans who traversed the country, and ended by taking their arms and joining them. A lieutenant of the first regiment of hussars deserted from Wolffenbuttel one morning, taking with him forty armed men, and after having pillaged the chests, in the manner of Schill. Happening to get on a bad road, the French troops pursued him; his followers dispersed, and he was taken prisoner in a mill near Quedlinbourg. Among the papers of this officer was a Russian brevet, confering a much higher rank than he enjoyed in Westphalia. Government gave great publicity to his punishment; he was conveyed

to Cassel, and made to walk round the camp in view of the German soldiery, previous to being shot: this was not of much avail. Major Penn, who commanded the regiment of hussars, was very unjustly dismissed on this occasion; he was a brave soldier, full of loyalty, and deserved better treatment. It is scarcely necessary to add that he was thus added to the number of Jerome's enemies.

Such was the dispositions of the new army of Westphalia at the commencement of the campaign of 1813.

France, it must be owned, never shewed itself greater than at this period: Napoleon re-appeared on the plains of Lutzen, before his enemies, who were surprised to see him again at the head of an army.

General Lauriston was at Magdeburg with a force of twenty thousand men; the Prince of Eckmuhl and Vandamme were stationed at Bremen; the Viceroy (Eugene) on the Saale. The Prusso-Russian army occupied Leipsic in great strength; it had also corps at

Hamburgh, Luneburg, and particularly on the right bank of the Elbe. As this river is easy to cross, parties often entered Westphalia to the great annoyance of the French detachments, and the convoys: several of which were surprised and taken. Proclamations were distributed among the inhabitants; they were called to arms; the Russians, making war by insurrection, propagated that incendiary spirit which accompanies it. The ladies of Berlin sold their jewels to defray the expenses of the war, and wore rings and crosses of iron; this metal was every where substitued for silver. All the male population took up arms, resolved to conquer or perish. This enthusiasm of the Prussians is sufficiently sublime to merit a place in history; but these people were not formed for great actions; they would be nothing if they were not auxiliaries of the Russians or English, and were not excited by others.

All the enmity, which time and the circumstances of the war, had created against the

French, was poured forth at once. The Germans thought their wishes accomplished, when three signal victories dissipated these illusions, re-established a balance in opinion, and the military credit of Napoleon. He had purchased his victories dearly, but his system was that the heart of a general should be in his head. The Prince of Eckmuhl re-entered Hamburgh, while the main body of the army occupied Dresden.

As the French still formed the strongest party, the princes of the confederation continued to follow their banners. The armistice, however, which was granted to the enemy after the victory, excited surprise; neither the foresight, nor the genius of Napoleon were recognized in this instance. It is evident that, in proposing to negotiate a peace, the allies had no other object than to recruit themselves, and gain time, to wait the co-operation of Austria, Sweden, and in short, a general rising in Germany. The trap was too palpable to warrant a mistake. Napoleon, by refusing the ar-

mistice, could follow up his success, rally his forces in the garrisons of the fortified towns of the Oder and Vistula, and increase his moral and numerical strength with eighty thousand men, all old soldiers who were stationed in these towns; he could have again crushed the Prussians and dictated laws. Never did the fate of nations hang on so slender a thread and never did fortune shew herself more propitious to one on whom she had already showered down such signal favours.

The armistice being arranged, negotiations commenced; it was then that the King of Westphalia again joined the few regiments he had been able to collect to the French army. These troops consisted of four thousand infantry under the orders of General Bernard; a thousand cavalry, commanded by Colonel Hammerstein brother to the general, and twenty pieces of cannon under the direction of Colonel Pfhul. This small body marched to Dresden, preceded by Jerome.

Napoleon was amusing himself with a co-

medy at the Marcolini palace, while his plenipotentiaries were in attendance at Prague. Never was time so ill spent. Jerome's intentions, in this journey, were to obtain instructions for his future conduct; to explain the miserable situation of his subjects, and to demonstrate to the Emperor the absolute impossibility of sustaining the new expenses of this war. Scarcely had he entered on this subject, when Napoleon said: "I cannot force "them to like the French, but I advise them, "in prudence, to join us rather than the Rus- "sians." The King laid great stress on the zeal and loyalty of the persons in authority. "Very well," quickly rejoined the Emperor, "I know that there are brave men among "your functionaries, but as to your nobles "they are mere scum!"

Napoleon conversed for above an hour with the King. His conversation was so unconnected, his repetitions so quick and frequent, that it was impossible to follow him; all that could be done, was to catch a few phrases af-

ter the short replies of Jerome. " So then," said the Emperor, " will they at last cease to " believe in Westphalia that I am a dupe? It " is by events that political actions are judged. " Very well, your situation required forbear- " ance ; I had forbearance and was duped ; " you cajoled me yourself, you gained time " by your contributions. Yes, the conti- " nental system, that's the charging horse. " Suffer ! do you suppose I do not suffer ? this " is precisely why we should come to a con- " clusion. Do they think, in Westphalia, that " I could relax in your favour from my inva- " riable principles? On the contrary, the crisis " in which I am placd, obliges me to per- " sist in them. Ah ! time, always time ; I " have lost too much time.—Yes, that is true, " but Westphalia can not remain neuter.—You " had an army in 1809 ; but did you pre- " vent the invasion of your territories ? Truly, " the ties of blood ! The King of Holland " is also my brother ; but that has not pre- " vented my sacrificing him for the common

" interest.—Adieu, I hope to see you again " under more favourable auspices !...."

These were the last words of Napoleon to the King of Westphalia. It is to be regretted that this conversation, vehement enough to be overheard by the officers in the next room, could not be collected entire. Though the Emperor often raised his voice to such a pitch that he might have been heard at a greater distance, his extreme volubility would have puzzled the most able stenographer.

Jerome returned to Cassel little satisfied with the result of his journey. He was received every where on his route with marks of honour and acclamations from the people ; a proof that the Germans knew, as well as the French, how to lavish praise and adulation on the existing power. In the discourses of the preachers and the speeches of the prefects, nothing was heard but compliments on the virtues of the most beloved of Kings, while many already secretly betrayed him !

CHAPTER XII.

Ruptnre of the Negotiations at Prague.—Desertion of Colonel Ham...—Battle of Dresden.—Brilliant Conduct of the Westphalians.—Incursions of the Enemies' Partisans into Westphalia.—Deplorable Situation of the Inhabitants.—Surprise of Cassel by Czernichew.—Noble Defence by General Allix.—Proclamation of Czernichew.—Fidelity of some Westphalians to the Cause of Jerome.—Re-entry of the King into Cassel.—Battle of Leipsic—Dissolution of the Kingdom.—Last Acts of the King.—Anecdotes.—Conclusion.

WHILE Napoleon consumed two precious months at Dresden in useless negotiations, the Austrians marched from Bohemia to Saxony, and the Prince of Sweden joined the allies with thirty thousand Swedes. The policy of France, at this period, was incomprehensible; history presents few facts more extraordinary than those of the last months of 1813: every instant Fortune seemed to be compromising the fate of Europe, and the inexorable goddess appeared to delight in this cruel warfare.

The man who had astonished the universe by the greatness of his conceptions, seemed to have no regular plan, and to march, as chance directed him, through surrounding dangers.

The armistice having ceased on the 18th of August, Napoleon, with his guards and the main body of his army, marched to Silesia, intending to give battle to the Russians and Prussians before the arrival of the Austrians; but while his troops were on the march, the junction of the allied armies took place under the walls of Dresden, and three hundred thousand men threatened the city.

Scarcely had the enemy's army quitted Bohemia when the Westphalian colonel Hamm,... deserted, with the thousand cavalry under his command. This defection was the first that took place among the troops of the princes of the confederation*. Notwithstanding the pains that were taken to keep

* It occurred on the 22nd of August, 1813.

this affair secret, the intelligence was rapidly circulated: it produced a great sensation in the army, less however on account of the actual importance of this small body, than the influence of its example on the other German regiments. From this moment they should only have been employed in the second line, or in fortified places; but it appeared as if precaution was despised. Instead of placing the Germans in reserve, they were sent, in preference, to the outposts, and a general of Wirtemberg complained that he was made to advance in the vanguard and retreat in the rear: the French general replied: "You must expect that; it "is our interest that you should be killed, for "otherwise you would soon become our ene-"mies."—These were imprudent words which announced the moral and political division of the two nations, as having nearly reached its climax.

The Westphalians were the only people who, after the dismissal of their generals, were disseminated in the French ranks. The con-

duct of colonel Hamm...., is the more inexcusable, because this officer, though young, had run a rapid and brilliant career under the royal government, and, as well as his brother, was loaded with favours by the King of Westphalia. General Hamm..... was arrested at Cassel a few days after this event and conveyed to Mayence as a hostage. His papers having been seized and examined, it was proved that he knew of the projects of his brother. He was therefore sent as a prisoner of state to the castle of Ham, where he remained in custody till the entrance of the allies into France, in 1814.

The King of Westphalia thought that by acts of severity, very ill suited to his situation, he would subdue the spirit of insurrection amongst his soldiers. The two regiments of hussars, to whom the men who had followed Hamm..... belonged, were disbanded, their colours burnt, and an order of the day brought contempt alike on the guilty and the innocent. These measures, however

good under a powerful sovereign, may accelerate the fall of one who totters on his throne. Nothing more was requisite to kindle the flames of sedition. The honour of this sublime conception is attributed to the Count de H... There is no doubt that it bore the mark of his liberal ideas. General Zandt was charged with its execution; it was a dangerous mission of which he acquitted himself as a clever and kind hearted man; he was, however, not without uneasiness as to the terrible consequences which might result from so intemperate a proceeding.

During this time Napoleon returned, by forced marches, from Silesia to defend Dresden. He arrived just as the enemy commenced the attack. The approaches to this city had been hastily fortified with ditches and pallisadoed redoubts, which were not entirely finished. The assailants imagined these works to be only defended by the enfeebled corps of Marshal Gouvion Saint Cyr. They marched towards the town in full confidence, the 27th

of August at noon, when the Emperor, with his guards and army, suddenly appeared on the plain. The battle was maintained with the greatest valour on both sides during the 27th and 28th of August ; the rain fell in torrents, and the mud reached the knees of the soldiers; but at last the star of the French prevailed, and the allies, beaten on every side, retreated towards Bohemia in the utmost disorder. Twenty thousand prisoners, thirty pieces of cannon and the enemy's colours were the trophies of this victory.

The Westphalian artillery distinguished themselves in a brilliant manner: occupied in the defence of one of the works before the suburb of Wilsdurff, they several times repulsed the assault of the Austrians. Colonel Pfhul commanded them ; this officer was afterwards aid-de-camp to Jerome at the battle of Waterloo, in 1815. The Westphalian gunners displayed a rare intrepidity, and were nearly all killed at their posts. Public attention was so much absorbed by affairs of

greater magnitude, that this praiseworthy conduct was not noticed.

Unfortunately the victory of Dresden brought with it no decisive result as to the issue of the campaign, because the partial success was interwoven with many operations which generally failed. Napoleon, at Dresden, was like the axis, round which all within fifty leagues revolved. Ney, who was charged with the capture of Berlin, suffered himself to be beaten by the Swedes and Prussians; Macdonald was nearly drowned in the inundations of the Bober, in Silesia, and Vandamme was taken in the passes of Bohemia: thus were all the plans of the general in chief overturned in a few days.

Westphalia first felt the influence of these unfortunate events. A party of the landsturm of Preignitz, having crossed the Elbe, occupied the environs of Sichausen and Osterburg, organizing insurrections throughout the neighbourhood. Count Walmoden, with his troops, crossed the Elbe near Domitz,

and took General Pecheux prisoner, whom the Prince d'Eckmuhl had sent, with six French battalions, to protect the Westphalian frontier. The Cossack Tettenborn pursued the retreating troops to the gates of Blekede, ten leagues from Brunswick.

Insurrection was ripening everywhere between the Elbe and the Weser; the leaders were prepared and only waited for a signal to assemble the peasants. The enemy, in possession of the course of the Elbe above and below Magdeburg, sent forth parties on all sides. Czernichew and Thielman traversed the banks of the Saale with their Cossacks, seizeing couriers, convoys, detachments, and money; the communication with the Rhine became every day more difficult, the horizon was covered with clouds, and enemies seemed to spring from the earth, as it usually happens with the conquered.

The people, it may well be supposed, were miserable. The authorities had as much reason to fear them as the allies; a prefect, or

under-prefect, were often suspected in the morning as traitors by the French, and attacked in the evening as their partizans by the Cossacks. Government was obliged to demolish the vast suburbs of Magdeburg, so that a population of twenty thousand souls was left without any shelter. It was necessary to provide for the maintenance of the fortress at the expense of the country. The kingdom was no longer tenable, because it could not answer the requisitions for money, food, or horses, which poured in from every quarter.

On the 24th of September, a feeble body of the enemy approached Brunswick; the Westphalian General Klösterlein precipitately evacuated the town, with five or six hundred men, whom he commanded, and took up his quarters at Wolfenbuttel, a mile distant. Having learned about noon that the enemy was near him, he wished to continue his retrograde march towards Osterode; but scarcely had he quitted Wolfenbuttel with his column, when shouts were heard, upon which the offi-

cers and soldiers throwing, down their arms, took to flight and soon disappeared. There was not a single shot fired on this occasion.

Twenty-five gensdarmes on horseback, flying at full speed, augmented the disorder. In an instant the whole column fled, abandoning all its baggage. Before what force, will it be believed, that these *six hundred* soldiers took flight? They fled at the sight of *ten men* on horseback, of the Prussian landwehr, armed only with lances and pistols. Such was the state of the Westphalian soldiery, that scarcely one of the flying cowards rallied round their commanders, but immediately exchanged their uniforms for the dress of peasants, that they might return home more peacefully.

An officer of high rank, who was present, having received intelligence of Czernichew's intended attack on Cassel, had communicated it to the chief of the police and the gendarmerie, on the evening of the 27th of September; but this man ridiculed the inti-

mation, considered the story as a chimera, took no notice of it, and went to sleep quietly.

At break of day, on the 28th a brisk firing, which was heard at the Leipsic gate, awakened the court of Cassel from its profound lethargy; it was Czernichew in person, with his Cossacks. This general, by marching through Eisleben and Rosla, avoided a regiment of Westphalian cuirassiers, commanded by Bastineller, posted at Heiligenstadt, and pursuing a circuitous route, arrived at Mulhausen from Sonderhausen, and thence proceeded in a direct line to Cassel. It is remarkable that neither the gendarmerie, police, nor Westphalian regiments placed on the road, had intelligence of this movement; and what appears still more incredible is, that Jerome might have been taken in his bed, if the enemy had not amused themselves by imprudently firing at the gates of the town.

Czernichew had about two thousand foot

and three thousand horse with him ; his march was favoured by so thick a fog that the soldiers could scarcely discern each other. He could have taken possession of a little bridge of boats which had been constructed on the Fulda, at the foot of the royal palace, and which was not guarded ; from this spot he might have entered the park of Cassel, and gained possession of the capital of Westphalia without firing a shot ; but it is probable he was ignorant of the circumstance. In the account of the capture of Cassel, which King Jerome gave the Emperor, it was stated that the enemy had sixteen pieces of cannon ; this is an error; they had only one, but they found six, with their waggons, left to the guard of one sentinel on the heath before the Leipzic gate, took possession of them, and immediately turned them against the town.

The King had scarcely time to dress himself and mount his horse. No one knew how to act. Every body ran in various directions, ignorant of the result and not knowing what

would become of him. The Generals Allix and Chabert succeeded in assembling the foot guards, and a thousand horse. Jerome put himself at the head of his body guards. A regiment of French hussars, which he had taken into his service, was composed of men who did not know how to manage their horses, and who were not equipped; it was laughable to see the awkwardness of these poor people who only increased the confusion. The courtiers, women, and all that were useless, crowded to the public roads and fled precipitately; at the post-house, people fought to obtain horses; the rich took away their treasures, the cowards hid themselves in cellars, while others quietly awaited the result, before they decided on the steps they should take.

The few troops employed to defend the Leipzic suburb, obliged to retreat before a superior force, endeavoured to barricade the bridge which unites the lower town with the exterior; during this time, the enemy having forced the first enclosure, planted a piece of

cannon opposite the bridge, and opened the state prison of the castle from which all the prisoners sallied forth.

General Allix, feeling the importance of this bridge to protect the retreat of the King, and not being able to make any other use of the French hussars, dismounted them, gave them muskets, and defended the post with the greatest vigour. The enemy thus stopped short, lost greatly by the fire of the musketry. It is singular that General Czernichew, who, at this moment, made four hundred cavalry cross the Fulda in a fordable place, near the road to Frankfort, did not send a detachment to intercept the road from Cassel to Warburg, on which were seen equipages, royal carriages, treasures and runaways of every description, crowding on each other, for the space of six leagues. A few Cossacks would have sufficed to collect this booty. Here was a great failure, but every thing cannot be thought of. It is said, in the twentieth bulletin of the allied armies in the north of Germany, cor-

rected at the head quarters of the Prince Royal of Sweden, that Cassel *was surrounded on every side:* this is not true; the enemy only intercepted the Frankfort and Leipsic roads; two or three of the gates of Cassel were always open, happily for the fugitives, whose routes were crowded. These people would have excited the peasants against them, if the latter had been aware of their superiority.

Jerome, at the head of his body guards, some light horse, and a few other troops, retired precipitately to Jesberg, fearing lest he should be cut off at Wabern, while Allix continued to defend Cassel.

The King hoped to rally Generals Zandt, and Bastineller. The one as stated in a former page, commanded a regiment of cuirassiers which Czernichew had evaded in his march to Cassel; the other, posted at Göttingen, watched the Brunswick road with a detachment of light troops; but these generals not appearing, and the aid demanded from Marshal Kellerman, then at Frankfort, not having ar-

rived, it was necessary to think seriously of a retreat. Jerome, therefore assembled the wreck of his army, and retired, with his generals and ministers, to Coblentz.

Allix, who remained at Cassel, defended the bridge till the 30th of September, when he determined to evacuate the town. Scarcely had he quitted the gates with his handful of men, when the prefect Piantas sent after him, to say, that Czernichew, ignorant of his retreat, offered a capitulation. Allix then re-entered the town, proceeded to the Hotel-de-Ville and signed terms in which he appeared the conqueror; their substance was that a retreat should be open to the French and Westphalians, with their arms and baggage, and that, to insure their safety, a band of Cossacks should escort them two miles beyond Cassel. Some difficulties being suggested during the drawing up of the articles, Allix wished to make a prisoner of the herald; but the trembling prefect, begged, conjured, and at length obtained concessions on both

sides, after which Allix took the road to Marbourg with his troops.

Czernichew made a night march between the 28th and 29th to Melsunger, to renconnoitre the Westphalian cuirassiers of General Bastineller; he dispersed them, took two pieces of cannon, and did not enter Cassel till the evening of the 30th. The inhabitants, on his appearance, uttered an almost delirious cry of joy. The populace wished to carry the Russian general in triumph. Some riots took place with a few Frenchmen who remained in the town; a great number of Westphalian officers swore fidelity to the enemy, more than two thousand soldiers, who had deserted, ranged themselves under the Russian banners, and the Germans in principle, who could not endure the idea of a Corsican king, began to breathe again.

Czernichew made the French comedians perform, and the next morning he addressed the following proclamation to the Hessians:

"*To the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Westphalia.*"

"At the moment when the fate of arms delivers your capital into my hands, I announce to you in the name of his majesty the Emperor of Russia, my most gracious sovereign, and by order of his highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, commander in chief of the armies of the North of Germany, that the Kingdom of Westphaila, composed of several provinces, taken by force from their legitimate sovereign, is dissolved from this day. Not to be treated as a conquered country, but to be delivered from the dominion of the French.

"The noble sentiments of my sovereign are known. It was to release Germany from the yoke of the stranger, and to give peace to the world, that he called his people to arms. He will not order them to lay them down until this glorious end be accomplished. The All-powerful evidently blesses this enterprise.

In six weeks the enemy has lost three hundred pieces of cannon and a hundred thousand prisoners. Bavaria and Wurtemberg have abandoned him; already the greater part of Germany has armed itself against him.

"Whoever among you, in joining this great league, will prove that he is not unworthy of the name of a German, will be received by us with pleasure; he will be our brother, our companion in arms. The Emperor, my master, will know how to protect him whatever events may happen.

"I am not apprehensive that any of you will remain attached to a government which so basely abandoned you in the moment of danger. If, however, such should be the case, and any one undertakes what might be adverse to the general good, I shall be obliged to have recourse to the greatest severity.

(Signed) CZERNICHEW,
Major-General and Aid-de-Camp to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, Chief of a Corps of the Army.

While all this passed at Cassel, Allix collected the French hussars and the Westphalian troops, which the King had left at Wetzlar, when he went to Coblentz. The constancy and fidelity of this handful of German soldiers seems above all praise, and is worthy of admiration. These brave men, abandoned by their sovereign amidst their rebellious countrymen, did not remain the less attached to his cause. Their loyalty deserves that honorable place which history will not refuse. Even now, that Jerome is in exile, he has not a single Frenchman about him; Germans followed him in his adversity, and among them are two Hessians.

General Rigaud at length appeared at Marburg at the head of a column of five or six thousand French troops. He arrived rather late, but was nevertheless formidable. Joined by the Westphalians, he re-entered Cassel, which Czernichew had suddenly quitted a few days before to march in another direction. So rapid a change of scene mo-

derated the enthusiam of the inhabitants of Cassel; they felt that, in submitting again to the yoke, they should become answerable for any excesses which had been committed and for the joy they had manifested.

Jerome, by short journies, returned from Coblentz to his dominions; he was preceded by proclamations, in which were expressed the assurances of forgiveness to the guilty. Arrived at Cassel, the first acts which emanated from the government, consisted of new faults and fresh imprudences. Notwithstanding the lesson which Czernichew had given, there was still the same folly in the ministry, and the same ridiculous pride in the courtiers.

A sort of law was established respecting the *suspected*, by virtue of which the police confined a crowd of citizens in the prisons. Arbitrary measures were resorted to; a re-action was organized wherever the King had bayonets; but his authority was eclipsed where there were none. The castle was filled with state prisoners. Their trials, and being consigned

to courts martial was spoken of, though many were only guilty of mere expressions. A species of terror was established at Cassel, the Savary of Westphalia and his satellites spoke of nothing less than shooting their victims. A mournful silence prevailed every where ; it was the deceitful calm which precedes a tempest. At the period when these revolutions agitated Westphalia, great military movement in Saxony were a prelude to the entire enfranchisement of Germany.

Napoleon, not being able to remain at Dresden, surrounded as he was on the right and left, decided, the 5th of October, on a retrograde motion to Leipsic; but, on arriving at Wurtzen, he suddenly suspended his march. The proposed movement, retarded four days, became fatal to him, by facilitating the junction of Blucher and the Prince Royal of Sweden with Prince William, at Muhlbeck, whence they marched to meet him at Leipsic and cut off his retreat.

Napoleon was not forced to give battle.

Master of several bridges on the Elbe, he could have crossed to the right bank, placed the river between himself and the allies, march to Magdeburg, reunite himself to the twenty thousand men assembled there, rally the insulated corps of the Prince d'Eckmuhl at Lamburg, and remove, at pleasure, the scene of war to lower Germany. He would have thus established two new and strong lines of operation, one on the Elbe, the other on the Weser. This, in the opinion of the most experienced soldiers, was the wisest and most natural plan, and that which was conformable to the ordinary rules of the military art. By it he could overturn the plan of the allies, oblige them to divide their forces, and to take new directions. Napoleon was not a man to whom advice could be given. He never received any; it appears, however, that this was his original intention; but that the unforseen defection of Bavaria caused him to change the resolutions he had taken. From the time that he formed the fatal determination of waging

battle in the bad position of Leipsic, great success or great failure was to be expected. This might be a second edition of the battle of Marengo, or that of Poitiers and Agincourt.

In the fictitious manuscript of Saint Helena, Napoleon is made to utter a great absurdity: "I waited for them at Leipsic," says he in speaking of the allies, "in the same plains where they had before been beaten; our position was not good, as we were attacked in a half circle; even the result of victory could not be of much importance to us." How could the Captain, who had beaten all the European generals, and who has since, in the plains of Champagne, given such shining proofs of his superior skill in tactics, utter this language! If *the result of victory could not be important* why did he so obstinately remain in an unfavourable position and why did he not retreat till he found one more suitable to him?* He had another motive for awaiting

* A number of gross mistakes, in the manuscript of which I am speaking, have been detected. The most remark-

the enemy's forces at Leipsic, this was a blind reliance on his fortune, and in those notions of fatalism which appear to have governed some of his actions. Napoleon calculated that a single battle would decide the fate of the world ; he was right ; but he was vanquished, and he was wrong. Besides, he felt assured of the fidelity of his allies ; and yet it was on the field of battle that the Saxons turned their cannon against him : a solitary instance, in history perhaps, and only to be explained by their having become tired of the alliance with France.

The incalculable losses, which were the result of this battle, made such a change in the situation of affairs, that Napoleon precipitated his retreat to Erfurth and Mayence, where he did not arrive without passing over the bodies of the Bavarians.

Jerome was ignorant of the catastrophe

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able are those of erroneous dates. It is known too that this work is a mere literary imposture to which a counsellor of state of the hundred days condescended to lend himself.

of Leipsic till two o'clock on the 25th of October. Nothing transpired publicly. The King of Westphalia quitted his capital for the last time on the night of the 25th, escorted by a small detachment of select body guards. As the Bavarians already intercepted the Francfort road, he took that of Wetzlar, gained Uberfeld and crossed the Rhine at Cologne.

A second flight of poltrons took place from Cassel; the struggle, however, was not so great as on the former occasion, for the balls were not heard to hiss; many had been prudent enough not to return, and others had become acquainted with the Cossacks; besides the French troops of General Rigaud remained several days in the town. The movement of the people, the transporting of furniture, effects, trunks, portmanteaus, taking place in silence, gave to the confusion a sinister character and a ludicrous aspect. It seemed as if the town had been menaced by some great calamity, and that the inhabitants were abandoning it to avoid destruction.

Jerome was accompanied by a few favourites, These were the Count de Hœne, Generals Chabert, Dauloup, Verdun, the younger Malsbourg, Count de Bocholtz, grand master of the ceremonies, and Bong...., to whom the Westphalians heartily wished a pleasant journey. Allix remained at Cassel with General Rigaud. The ministers dispersed variously. Malch.... very prudently placed the Rhine between himself and his countrymen, by whom he was detested. Simeon reached Paris. Wolpade quietly returned to his family in Brunswick. Bouch...., the Moul...es, D...., and Ham...., fled in different directions; some consoled themselves for the public contempt, by their gold, others only preserved, in remembrance of their splendid dreams, their embroidered clothes which they sold to the Jews to purchase bread.

A small number of German officers, scrupulously loyal, joined the ex-king of Westphalia at Cologne, at their own expense; thus giving an example of those noble and gene-

rous sentiments which are so honourable to soldiers and citizens. The fear of injuring them prevents the mention of the names of these brave men, worthy of a better fate.

Jerome remained several days at Cologne, surrounded by the fugitives of his kingdom, all in a most pitiable situation. He himself had no money for his personal expenses; the royal plate was sold to defray the current charges of his table; the Westphalian emigrants, receiving no assistance, were all in the greatest state of misery; most of them sold their effects and their horses to procure the means of subsistence.

It was at Cologne that the generous handful of the body guards (about forty in number) who had accompanied the Prince to the last, were disbanded; by this act, as by many others, the laws of justice and gratitude were trampled on. These young heroes were sent away, not only without obtaining a single word from the King, but also without assistance to enable them to join their families.

Indignities were so far proceeded in, that their uniforms, arms, and horses were taken from them. At Aix-la-Chapelle, the followers of the King chose to have a play performed by some of the strollers, who had followed his majesty from Cassel; an actress interrupted the prefect of the department, the baron de Lad....,who was presiding at a council of conscription, to ask him for the costumes of the theatre; and this magistrate was obliged to suspend his serious employment, to occupy himself with this ridiculous whim!

Courtiers do not pardon princes who have nothing to give them; but those who follow them in adversity know what they have to expect; they have sacrifices to make and humiliations to endure, and the least that kings, *those illustrious ingrates*, then can do, is to repay the services rendered to them by kind words. The King of Westphalia was inexcusable, under his circumstances, in so hastily dismissing his followers, and occupying himself in his amusements: thus giving his ene-

mies an opportunity of saying, that he did not know how to descend from the throne.

Generals Rigaud and Allix having retired from Cassel to Dusseldorf, the Electoral Prince of Hesse, son of the Elector, re-entered the capital on the 8th of November, 1813. The inhabitants took the horses from his carriage, and drew him to the palace, from which he addressed the following proclamation to his former subjects:

" Hessians ! I again call you by your name. " You had lost that as well as your title of " Germans, but you had not lost your fidelity " and attachment to your prince. The lively " joy with which you received me, and which " will serve to perpetuate in my mind the re- " membrance of my entrance, is my security. " From the field of battle, where the vic- " torious arms of the allies atchieved your " deliverance from a foreign yoke, I has- " tened to you. I found you, such as your " brave forefathers were, courageously meet- " ing the dangers of war. In a short time " you will take your places in the ranks of

"those warriors who defend the honour and "independence of Germany. Present your- "selves to those to whom I will give informa- "tion that you may be prepared for the glo- "rious cause; when my father, your sove- "reign, who is on the point of returning "amongst you, calls you, shew yourselves "worthy of his affection, of your name, "and maintaining your deliverance, by "moderation,* peace, and order; and, at "a future time, when under arms, by dis- "playing that courage and perseverance for "which you have always been distinguished."

Thus ended the kingdom of Westphalia. If the faults of those who governed it could afford instruction to their successors, they might here find ample subject for meditation. The Germans of certain classes had received the French as liberators; they were enabled to draw a comparison between their old and their

* The people attempted to plunder several French tradesmen who were established at Cassel.

new masters; but the latter, redeeming the faults of conquerors by elevation of thought and amenity of manner, were to be preferred to those who offered none of these compensations. The French government in Germany could have been established under these favourable auspices; but the imprudence of a handful of weak or perfidious men, entirely demolished this great edifice erected by victory, and the conquerors were banished. A great and sublime lesson, which will not however preserve any one from a thirst for power or the fascination of ambition.

THE END.

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